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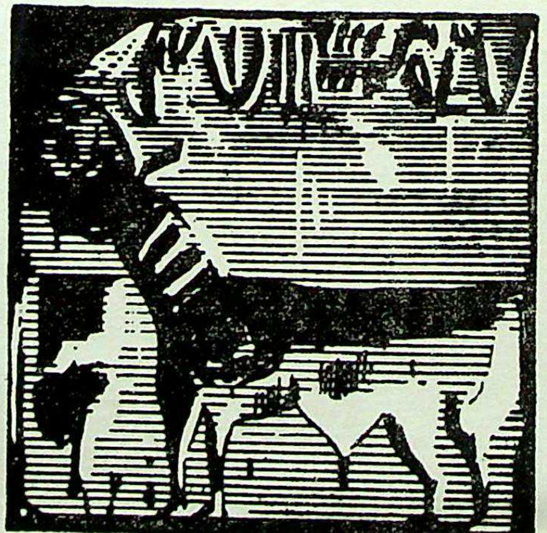

The Indian Historical Quarterly

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Some Foreign Words in Ancient Sanskrit Literature

The foreign words in ancient Sanskrit literature are comparable with archæological relics illustrating India's contacts with foreign peoples, more especially with the Semitic culture-complex of Mesopotamia and the Middle East. Boghazkui furnishes a definite point in the obscure history of Aryan migrations and shows that the Vedic gods, Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya were being worshipped by the Mitanni who ruled in Asia Minor in 1400 B.C. Earlier links between India and Mesopotamia are furnished by the discovery of Indus Valley seals and other objects in Ur, Lagash and other Mesopotamia sites. These relics, although meagre in themselves, open up the whole question of cultural exchanges across the borders of India during the third millennium B.C. But one of the most fruitful sources for the interrelationship between ancient India and the West is the Sanskrit language itself, in which are preserved a number of words that are clearly exotic, and are to be explained only in the light of the related foreign words which apparently were their source. A few words of this type are assembled here.

Taimāta, Āligī-Viligī, Urugūlā

An important group of foreign words of Semitic origin is found in the *Atharvaveda*, V. 13, which is a charm against snake poison. The words are *Āligī, Viligī, Taimāta, Urugūlā* and *Tābuva*. Śrī B. G. Tilak detected their non-Indian origin and was able to point out their Chaldaean source (*Bhandarkar Com. Volume*, Chaldaean and Indian Vedas). *Taimāta* of *Atharva*, V, 13, 6 is Taimat or Taimatu, the masculine form of Taimat (Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 198). There is a cosmic struggle between Bel Marduk and Taimat. The Epic of Creation in Babylonian mythology tells us that, even before the heavens were made, there existed Apsū and Mummu (and) Taimat (*Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 234). Taimat was the great dragon of *tāmtu*, the sea; it is the *tehōm* of Genesis, meaning deep or waters. In Indian mythology Taimāta is also a serpent name, and therefore its connection with a dragon of the sea may be presumed. *Apsu* which is also a Vedic word (*Ṛgveda*, I, 138, 11 *apsu-kṣit;* VIII, 43, 28 *apsu-ja;* VIII, 13, 2 and VIII, 36, 1 *apsu-jit*, victor of Apsu) is again a relic of Babylonian mythology where Apsu is the name of the Hall of Ea which is the sea (*Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 234). The titanic clash of Marduk, the chief deity of Babylon and Taimat is similar in pattern to the Indra and Vṛtra Ahi saga of the *Ṛgveda*. *Urugūlā* is referred to in the *Atharvaveda* (V, 13, 8) as the black-skinned she-fiend. On the Babylonian side she corresponds to the goddess Gula, wife of Marduk. In Akkadian, *Urugala* or *Uru-gula* denoted 'a big city,' which in Sumerian mythology was the abode of the manes in the underworld. The serpents belonging to the subterranean regions have been designated as the progeny of Urugūlā.

Another interesting reference in the *Atharvaveda* is to *Āligī* and *Viligī* (V, 13, 7). According to Griffith the words are unidentified. Tilak takes them to be old Akkadian words. *Āligī* has no corresponding name, but *Viligī* seems to tally with Bilgi, an ancient god in Assyrian mythology. In our Hindi language there is a pair of words *Alāy-Balāy* which denote calamity and affliction. On the morning following the Dīpāvalī night there is a ceremony of driving away from houses the two demons, Alāy-Balāy. The several days preceding this festival are associated with the demon Narakāsura as Naraka-caturdaśī, and with Yama and Bali, as Yama-ghaṇṭā also called Bali-pratipad (the first morning after Dīpāvalī) and Yama-dvitīyā. These are Asura names, and it is possible that the association of Āligī-Biligī with these Asura festivals points to some forgotten contact between the Aryans and the Asuras. The identification of the Asuras is a vexed problem of Indian history and its final solution must await, perhaps, the reading of the Indus script. In the meantime a number of Asura references in ancient Sanskrit literature point to contacts which cannot be accepted only as mythical. Facts both literary and archæological in favour of an Asura home in Iran-Iraq are accumulating but need much further investigation.

Another important but difficult word in the Atharva hymn is *Tābuva* in the verse:

> *Tābuvaṁ na tābuvaṁ na ghet-tvamasi tābuvaṁ,*
> *Tābuvenārasaṁ visham.* (V, 13, 10).

'*Tābuva* or not *Tabuva,* thou verily art not Tābuva;
poison is called off by *Tābuva.*'

'*Tābuva*' means 'that which relates to '*Tābu,*' and *Tābu* was perhaps considered as an act of purification against a sin or evil deed, with which we may compare the Semitic word *taubaḥ.* The effect of poison is spoken of as being neutralised by the *Tābuva* charm or incantation. Griffith thought that *Tābuva* was a supposed antidote that rendered snake's poison ineffectual. It seems more to be in the nature of an incantation repeated as a charm rather than a herb or stone. The fact remains that the word is of non-Sanskritic origin and a relic of foreign contacts.

Helayaḥ-helayaḥ

Patañjali has through a quotation in the *Mahābhāṣya* made the word *Helayaḥ* famous in literature: *'Te' surāḥ helayo helaya its kurvantaḥ parābabhūvuḥ; tasmād-Brāhmaṇena na mlecchitavai nāpabhāṣtavai. Mleccho ha vā eṣa yad-apasabadaḥ. Mlecchā mā bhūma ity-adhyeyaṁ vyākaraṇam* (Kielhorn's edition, I, 2; Āhnika 1 on *sūtra* 1, 1, 1).

'Why should we study grammar? To avoid behaving like Mlecchas in our speech. They, the Asuras, intending to utter '*He' arayaḥ, He 'arayaḥ,'* mispronounced the word and said '*helayaḥ, helayaḥ,*' and thus they were beaten. Therefore should a Brāhmaṇa not utter speech like a Mleccha or mispronounce words.'

The weight of Patañjali's argument consists in the fact that *he'layo* was the Asura corruption of the battle-cry *he'rayo* (*arayo*), i.e., 'O ye, enemies,' 'O ye, enemies.' Patañjali's explanation of the sound '*helayo*' as a corruption of '*helayo*' is extremely far-fetched. The fact, however, remains that *helayo* was a battle-cry ascribed traditionally to the Asuras. That the ancient Indians did not catch the sound exactly or understand its significance may be inferred from the varying forms in which the words have been recorded. According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (iii, 2, 1, 24) the form was *he'lavo he'lavaḥ;* the Kāṇva text of the *Śatapatha* reads '*hailo, hailo.*' Here the Asuras raising their national battle-cry are needlessly censured. The Babylonians and the Assyrians had a general name for their great God: it was '*Illu,*' e.g. in the names *Bāb-Illu* (Babylon) = the gate of God, and *Arb-Illu* (Arbela) which means four gods, because there stood a temple dedicated to four gods. The original Turanian name of Babylon was Tin-ter-ki, meaning "the place (sojourn) of life," but the Semites changed it into Bāb-illu. This name of the deity is common to all Semitic languages. The Hebrew '*el* and '*elōah,* Babylonian-Cananite *ilu,* Phoenician *el,* Accadian *ilu,* Aramaic *elaha,* Arabic '*ilah,* all mean 'God' (*Ency. Br.,* 14th ed., 11. 354). Here we have the true explanation of the Asura battle-cry. Poor creatures!!! they were true to their national tradition in invoking at the time of battle their great God *ilu* or *elōah.* This in the vocative case with *he,* became *helavo helayo* or *hailo,* as the Aryan ears were able to catch that sound.

Ziggurut

In the *Mahābhārata,* Vanaparvan, 190.65 an 67, is mentioned the worship of *eḍūka* monuments:

Eḍūkām pūjayiṣyanti varjayiṣyanti devatāḥ, 65;
Eḍūka-cihnā pṛthivī na deva-gṛha-bhūṣitā, 67;

i.e. 'the men in the decadent age of Kali will forsake their own gods and worship the *eḍūkas* (65); the earth will be dotted over with *eḍūka* monuments in place of the temples of gods.' According to a variant reading recorded in the Critical edition, and in the Southern recension the reading is *Jālūka* in place of *eḍūka. Jālūka* is a word unfamiliar to Sanskrit literature, whereas *eḍūkā* is mentioned several times. Hemacandra explains *eḍūka* as a monument with a bone-relic enshrined within it (*tad eḍūkam: antar-nihita-kīkasam antar-nihitāsthi eḍūkam, Hemacandra-koṣa,* IV. 69). The best account of an *eḍūka* monument is found in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* (III, lxxxiv, 1-4) which makes a terraced temple in three tiers (*bhadra-pīṭhas*) with a Śiva-liṅga installed at its top. This Purāṇa records the data against the background of the Gupta period. It appears that the *eḍūka* was a much older structure, synonymous with a terraced *stūpa,* which in the Gupta age was also utilised for the edification of Brahmanical worship. As a matter of fact an actual specimen of the *eḍūka* monument having three terraces and a Śiva-liṅga at its top has been unearthed at Ahicchatrā in Bareli district during the recent excavations of the Department of Archæology. But the traditional structure was certainly an early one, and its range was at one time quite extensive. One of the four kinds of *stūpas* in Serindia was a remarkable quadrangular building in several tiers, diminishing in size upwards, like a gigantic staircase" (*Ency. Br.*, 14th ed., 2. 526).

The main point seems to be that *jārūka* as recorded by the Critical edition of Poona seems to have been an earlier reading, apparently a Sanskritized form of *ziggurat* with which these buildings seem to have had structural resemblance (*Ancient India,* No. IV, p. 167, V.S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahicchatrā)." The meaning of *jālūka* or *jārūka* was not clear to the commentators, and in dealing with a difficult reading (*lectio difficilior,* Sukthanker, V.S., *Prolegomena,* p. lv), they substituted it by *eḍūka,* which seems to have been an old Prakrit word for terrace, derived from *elūka* or *eḍūka* meaning the raised threshold (=*dehalī, Rāyapaseniya* text). The Hindi word *eḍi* meaning the raised heel of a foot seems to preserve the old dialectical form. Thus *eḍūka* was an indigenous substitution for a foreign *jārūka* which was apparently meaningless so far as the Sanskrit language was concerned. Its obvious derivation seems to lie from the imported term *ziggurut,* which never died down in the memories of men although with the advent of Islam its purpose and form were much changed in the *ziarat* or tombs of holy personages (Percy Brown, *Islamic Architecture,* p. 136). The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali commenting on Pāṇini IV, 3, 101 refers to *jārūkāḥ ślokāḥ* (Vol. II, p. 315), meaning verses composed by *jārūka,* or more appropriately verses appertaining to *jārūka* (i.e. *stūpa*) worship, such as are found in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and other works, but which must have been composed to be sung by devout *stūpa*-worshippers in much earlier times.

Kārṣāpaṇa

The word *kārṣāpaṇa* was the name of a coin which was a *karṣa* in weight. The word is used by Pāṇini and is also found in the Pāli literature as *kahāpaṇa.* But Kauṭilya in the *Arthaśāstra* consistently uses the Sanskrit equivalent *paṇa* in referring to the *kārṣāpaṇa* or punch-marked coins of silver and copper. The first part of this word, *karṣa,* seems to be derived from an Assyrian word *karṣu* meaning 'berry.' (*Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 249). Through many vicissitudes the same word survives in the English 'cash.' The medium of transmission from Assyria to India must have been Iran which served as the great commercial clearing-house of antiquity.

Jābāla

The word *jābāla* meaning a goat-herd occurs in Pāṇini in the *sūtra,* VI, 2, 38—

> '*Mahān vrīhy-aparāhṇa-gṛṣṭīṣvāsa-jābāla-bhāra-bhārata-hailihila-raurava-pravṛddheṣu*'.

The rule gives a list of ten words which with *mahān* prefixed to them formed special words with conventionally accepted meanings. *Mahājābāla* means 'a chief goat-herd.' The basis of his distinction seems to have been the great number of goats in his ranch, a number in excess of the usual strength kept by the goat-herds in villages. What this number was is still not clear to me from any literary reference. The point of interest, however, is the derivation of the word *jābāla*. Some have suggested its connection with *ajapāla* but that is not very convincing. We might perceive in it traces of the Semitic Hebrew word *yobel* meaning a ram, from which is derived the word '*jubilee,*' as a trumpet made of ram's horn was sounded at these celebrations. The connection of *yobel*, a ram, with *jābāla* is much more obvious and natural, although the intermediate stages and forms in the transmission of the word remain to be traced.

Hailihila

This word occurs in *sūtra* VI, 3, 38 of Pāṇini cited above, and there is no other instance of its use in the whole of Sanskrit literature. With the word *mahā* added to it, we have the word *mahā-hailihila*. It appears to me that this is connected with the later classical Sanskrit word *halāhala* or *hālāhala* which means a deadly poison. The Arabic word *halāhila* هلاهل meaning 'deadly poison' (F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 1506) seems to preserve the Semitic source of this Pāṇinean word, although Dr. Steingass quotes Sanskrit *halāhala* within brackets as the probable source of the Arabic word.

Kanthā

The word *kanthā* is found only in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini so far as Sanskrit literature is concerned. The available evidence is as follows:

1. A *kantha*-ending place-name in the Uśīnara country gets neuter gender (*Saṁjñāyāṁ kanthośīnareṣu*, II. 4. 20).
2. After the word '*kanthā*' is added the affix *ṭhak* in some specified senses, technically called *śaiṣika*. (*Kanthāyāṣṭhak*, IV. 2. 102).
3. If the *kanthā* is in Varṇu (country), the affix will be *vuk* (*Varṇau vuk*, IV. 2. 103).
4. A *kanthā* ending place-name whose first vowel is long, takes the affix *cha* in the 'remaining' (*śaiṣika*) senses (*Kanthā-palada-nagara-grāma-hradottarapadāt*, IV. 2. 142).
5. In a *kantha*-ending place-name (neuter *Tatpuruṣa* compound) the acute accent falls on the first syllable of *kanthā* (*Kanthā ca*, VI. 2. 124).
6. If a *kanthā*-ending place-name (neuter gender Tatpuruṣa compound), is preceded by the names *Cihaṇa*, etc. the acute accent will fall on the first syllable of *Cihaṇa* (*Ādiś-cihaṇadīnāṁ*, VI. 2. 125).

It will thus be seen that the evidence is remarkably full, and, although quite significant, has been rather treated indifferently in the grammatical books because the proper geographical background was lacking. The Uśīnara region definitely formed part of the Vāhīka country according to Pāṇini's *sūtra* (IV, 2, 118, *Kāśikā's* comment on it, *Uśīnareṣu ye Vāhīka-grāmāḥ*); it was adjacent to the Śibi Janapada or the headquarters of Shorkot Tehsil in the Jhang district. The north portion of the *Doab* between the Ravi and the Chenab was Madra Janapada with capital at Śākala or Sialkot, the central portion was Uśīnara and the southern portion with capital at Śibipura or Shorkot was the Śibi janapada (See *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Agrawala, V.S., "Geographical Data in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*," vol. XVI, pt. I, p. 33). In the Uśīnara region there was a string of place-names ending in *kanthā*. Similar was the case with names in the Varṇu region which seems to be identifiable with the Bannu region and Waziristan in the N.W.F.P., or more properly the valleys of the Tochi, Gomal and other rivers of that area.

The word *kanthā* has been traced to the Śaka language where it means "city" (Sten Konow, *Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 43 quoting Lüders who traces the word *kanthā* in *kaḍhavara* of an inscription. Cf. also *JRAS.*, 1934, p. 516, "Here belongs Sogdian *kanda*—"city," Saka *kanthā*—"city," earlier attested in Markantha." See also Sten Konow, *Śaka Studies* (Oslo 1932), pp. 42, 149, *kantha* "town" in feminine gender, nom. *kantha;* acc. *kantha* gen. *kintho*).

The fact that Pāṇini found a bunch of *kanthā*-ending place-names in the Bannu Valley and the Śibi-Uśīnara region, seems to be significant. It would appear that the Śakas in the trail of some earlier migration had left a series of *kanthā*-ending place-names which shared the grammatical peculiarity of their being used in the neuter gender, e.g. *Sauśami-kantham, Āhvara-kantham*, etc. in the Uśīnara Janapada. The *kanthā*-ending names outside the Uśīnara region were used in the feminine gender as *Dākṣi kanthā* and *Māhiki-kanthā* (examples on *sūtra* II, 4, 20).

What light do these *sūtras* throw on the problem of Śaka migration? They seem to postulate that an earlier wave of the Śakas had entered India before Pāṇini and was the source of the grammarian's acquaintance with these *kanthā*-ending names. Kātyāyana mentions the Śakas in his *vārttika* relating to forms like *Śakandhu* (*Śaka + andhu*, the stepped well in the Śaka country, *vārttika* on *sūtra* VI, 1, 93, *Sakandhvādiṣu ca*). Surely the Śakas of Kātyāyana (4th century B.C.) cannot be the Śakas who came in the period from first century B.C. to first-second century A.D.

The second word in the Śakandhu-*gaṇa* is *Karkandhu* (*karka + andhu*) which must mean a Persian-wheel well in the Karka country. In Indian literature, it is surprising to note, no satisfactory explanation of the word *Karkandhu* is available. The *Amarakoṣa* records it as the name of the jujube tree, its commentator resolving the grammatical formation as *karkaṁ kaṇṭakaṁ dadhāti* 'that which is thorny' (*Amara.*, II, 4, 36), little realising that the word becomes absurd so far as the requirements of the *vārttika* are concerned. The subsequent writers were far removed from the living tradition and did not know the Karka country or its inhabitants. The Behistūn and the Susa inscriptions of Darius (521-485 B.C.) preserve this tradition mentioning the Karkas, the Śakas and the Persians (Rawlinson, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistun;* for the Susa inscription, see R. G. Kent, "The Recently Published Old-Persian Inscriptions" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 51 (1931), pp. 189 ff.; also

Dr. Sukumar Sen: *Old Persian Inscription*, Calcutta University). The Old Persian form was *Karaka*, identified by Herzfeld as the Karians. The cedar timber required for the Susa palace was carried from Mount Lebanon to Babylon by the Assyrians, and thence to Susa by the Karkians and the Ionians. Kerkia near Susa may represent the land of the ancient Karkians. (V.S. Agrawala, "Place-names in the Inscriptions of Darius," *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, July, 1940).

The reference in Kātyāyana (*c.* 4th century B.C.) to Karkandhu and Śakandhu is of great historical value and can be explained only on the assumption of the names Śakas and Karkas having become familiar in India in the epoch of 5th-4th century B.C., i.e. several centuries prior to the Śakas of Sakasthāna (Seistan) who entered that country about the first century B.C. and who are mentioned in the Mathura Lion Capital inscription (Sten Konow, *Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. xxix).

The word *kanthā* of Pāṇini is unrecorded in the old Sanskrit literature. It has its ramifications in the Śaka dialect of Khotan and in the Sogdian Buddhist literature. H. W. Bailey in his study of the Asica language which was the language of the ancient Ṛiṣikas or the Yüe-chïs has pointed out the associations of *kanthā* :

kænt 'building'.........(in Asica)<**kan* (-)*ā*. Sogd. Bud. *kndh*, Chr. *knt, kt,* Pasto *kandai* (Morg. EVP 32, NTS 12. 267); Khotan *kanthā*-NPers. *kand* 'village' will be a loan-word to be classed with other Sogdian words in Persian (see Henning, BSOS 10. 93 ff.); J. Charpentier (Monde Oriental 18. 1 ff.) treated of Sanskrit *kanthā*. H. W. Bailey, Asica, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, p. 22-23.

From the *raison d'etre* of the above references in Pāṇini and Kātyāyana we are led to the question of the old home of the Śakas. Since the Śakas of Seistan or Śakasthāna moved into their new home in about the second century B.C., the old home of the Śakas was in Central Asia and it is they who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, Ch. 11, in the account of Śākadvīpa.

Still more forceful evidence is available in the Sabhāparvan, Ch. 27 in the account of Arjuna's *digvijaya* of the northern direction. The Śakas of Śakadvīpa belonged to the Kumuda mountain and the Cakshu river, which according to Herodotus were the Komedai and the Oxus river. The Sītā or Yarkand river flowed through their country and one of their divisions was called Kaumāravarṣa, through which flowed the Kumārī river and which was associated with the Raivata mountain. This corresponds to *Komarai* tribe mentioned by Herodotus. The Śaka word for *Kumāra* used in the *Kharoṣṭhī* inscriptions is *Alysānai* in which according to Sten Konow *ānai* is only a suffix. The word *Alys* may be preserved in the name of the Ala mountain, north of the Pamirs, which may be the same as the Kumāra region of Śākadvīpa. The Maśakas of the epic are the Messagetai of Strabo, who states (xi. 6, 2) that the ancient historiographers of the Hellenes called the tribes beyond the Caspian Sea partly Sakai, partly Massagetai, without having accurate knowledge about them, and, in another place (xi. 8, 2), that, beginning from the Caspian Sea, most of the Scythians were called Daai, farther to the east, however, preferably Massagetai and Sakai, (Sten Konow *Corpus*, p. xvii). The whole region extending from the Caspian Sea to Issik-kul was once the Śaka realm in which their many tribes—the Asioi (*Ṛṣika*), Pasianoi (*Parśu*), Tokharoi (*Tuṣāra*), Sakarauloi (*Śaukras*), Komedai (*Kumuda*), Komarai (*Kaumāra*), Massagetai (*Masaka*), were settled and must have been shifting according to historical exigencies.

These were the original Śakas who must have been known to Pāṇini and his contemporaries about 500 B.C. Darius (521-485 B.C.) refers to *Sakā Haumavarkā, Sakā Tigrakhaudā* and to *Sakā tyaiy taradraya* (or *paradraya*) (Naksh-i-Rustam inscription 3, Sten Konow, *Corpus*, p. xviii). The *Haumavarkā* have been identified with the Amyrgioi of Herodotus (*c.* 490-420 B.C.), who according to Hellanicus (about 450), lived in some plains, perhaps the plains east of the Caspian or north of the Jaxartes (Sten Konow, *Corpus*, p. xvi). The *Śaka Tigrakhaudhā*, literally 'Sakas of pointed caps,' seem to be the same as the *Orthokorybantioi* of Herodotus. The *Sakā tyaiy taradraya*, i.e. the 'Sakas beyond the sea' seem to have a reference to the Sakas settled to the east of the Caspian Sea. The account in the Bhīṣmaparvan refers to Kṣīroda as the sea encircled by the Śākadvīpa (Ch. 11, 10), but the *Vāyu Purāṇa* speaks of Kṣīroda as the sea which encircles or bounds the Śākadvīpa (*Kṣīrodena samudreṇa sarvataḥ parivāritaḥ, Śākadvīpastu vistārāt-samena tu samantataḥ; Vāyu*, 49. 99). The Caspian Sea was once called Shīrwan which was only a later form of Kṣīroda Sāgara (Sir Henry Yule's "Marco-Polo," vol. I, p. 59). The old name of the Jaxartes (Syr Daria) was Śyāmā (Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana, *Soviyat Madhya Asiyā*, p. 14), and it is possible that the old name of Śyāmā giri referred to in the Bhīṣmaparvan (Ch. 11, 19-22) coincided with the head-waters of the Jaxartes in the Tien Shan mountain.

According to Megasthenes (Diodorus Siculus, ii. 35, 1) the Hemodon mountain separated India in the north from that part of Scythia which was inhabited by those Scythians who were called Sakai. The Hemodon mountain seems to be the same as Himavant. In the account of Arjuna's battle with the Ṛṣikas (*Sabhā*, 27. 29) we are told of his conquest of the Himavant region (*Sa vinirjitya saṁgrāme Himavantaṁ sa-niṣkuṭaṁ/Śvetaparvatam-āsādya ny-aviśat-puruṣarṣabhaḥ*) This Himavant mountain must be identical with the mountainous region north of the Pamirs, the ancient Kamboja country which according to the Bhuvanakoṣa conception formed part of the natural boundaries of Bhāratavarṣa. The Tien Shan mountains are only a north-eastern extension of this part of Himavant. This is also the region abounding in geographical names ending in *kand* (*kand, kan(-)ā, kanthā*), as Samarkand, Tashkant, Chimkent, Panjkand, Khoqand, Yarkand etc. In the Persian geography *Hudūd-al-'Ālam* (ed. Minorsky, folio 4 *a*, 56, 185) is listed the *āvazah-i-baikand*, 'the swamp (*batīxah*) of Paikand, of the region of Bukhara (H. W. Bailey, Asica, *Transactions of Philological Society* 1945, p. 4). Paikand is obviously a *kanthā*-ending place-name. These names also help us in identifying the old Śaka country in the region from Bukhara to Chimkent, i.e. between the river, Oxus and the Chu, or roughly the Uzbek territory.

The cluster of *kanthā* ending names in the Himavant region of Central Asia seems to have served as a model for geographical names in the Varṇu country and the Uśīnara region of the Vāhīka land. This information may be gleaned from Pāṇini's *sūtra* (*Varṇau vuk*) (IV. 2. 103) and *Saṁjnāyām kanthośīnareṣu* (II. 4. 20). The occurrence of this phenomenon in the Varṇu country, or the Bannu valley is recorded in the example to *sūtra* IV. 2. 100, *Tathā hi jātam Himavatsu kānthakaṁ*, i.e. 'the place-names derived from *kanthā* became common in Varṇu as they had been in the Himvat region.' i.e. the Hemadon mountain. Pāṇini also records that the *kanthā*-ending names in the Uśīnara country took acute accent on the first vowel of the second part of the name, as in *Sauśami-kantham*, the accent fell on the vowel in *ka* of *kantham* (*Kanthā ca*, VI. 2. 124). In this connection a specific bunch of *kanthā*-ending place-names is recorded by Pāṇini in which the acute accent fell on the initial vowel of the name as *Cibaṇakantham* (*Ādiś-cibaṇādūnām*, VI. 2. 125). The proper names in the Cihaṇa-group are of very unfamiliar non-Sanskritic form and appear to be Saka names, e.g. *Cibaṇa, Maḍara, Vaitula, Paṭatka Vaiḍāli-karṇa, Kukkuṭa, Chitkaṇa.*

What can be the genesis of these *kanthā*-ending names in the Bannu valley and the Rechna *doab* or the old Uśīnara country? The question cannot be answered from the known facts of history. The Śakas came to Seistan about the end of the second century B.C. (Sten Konow, *ibid.*, p. xvii). The Naksh-i-Rustam inscription mentions Zranka, i.e. Drangiana, without any reference to Śakas, indicating that they were not, in those days, settled in Seistan. The gold tablet of Darius helps with a more precise location of the Śakas, who are mentioned as living beyond Sogdiana (*hacā Sakaibiš tyaiy para Sugdam, JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 433 ff., *MASI.*, 34; 1928), i.e. beyond the region between the Āmu and the Syrdarya which was the ancient Sugdha country. Sten Konow has drawn attention to the fact that Darius in his march against the Śakas crossed the mouth of the Oxus to which a reference is traceable in a mutilated passage of the Behistun inscription (Sten Konow, *ibid.*, p. xix). The region east of the Caspian Sea, east of Sogdiana and on the Jaxartes marked the old home of the Śakas where their different branches were settled. There they must have been settled not only in the time of Darius and Pāṇini but for centuries before them. This state of affairs continued until the first quarter of the second century B.C.

According to the Chinese sources so thoroughly discussed by Sten Konow, the Hiung-nu defeated the Yüe-Chï in 176 B.C., and the latter were driven out of the old Śaka country about 160 B.C. when they must have moved southwards, invading Bactria, Aria and Arachosia until they finally reached Śakasthāna. This is the condition referred to in the well-known passage of Strabo (Book 11, Ch., 8), "The best-known of the nomads have been those who took Bactria from the Greeks, Asioi and Pasianoi and Tokharoi and Sakrau'oi." The Tokharoi are the Tushāras of the Epic and Sanskrit literature and Thogari of Pimpeins Trogus according to whom the Asiani made themselves king of the Thogari (prologue to Book 42 of Trogus history). The most important of all these identifications is that of Ṛṣika with Asioi or Asiani. The Tocharians speak of their language in the Central

Asian documents as *Ārśi;* which name they must have borrowed from their conquerors the Ṛṣikas or the Asiani (Sten Konow, *ibid.*, p. lxi). Asiani and Asioi are the same, and similarly Asioi and Ās (G. Vernadstey, *Ancient Russia* (1943) 83-4). The Ās are the same as Ossetic, Ossetia, derived from a Russianized Georgian word *ovs-et-i*, 'land of the Ovs,' which corresponds to the *Ās, Āṣ* of Muslim sources. Digor *Asi*, Iron *Asi* is <**ásya*-or possibly **arsya-* (W.H. Bailey, Asica, *Trans. Phil. Society*, pp. 2-3, 1945), Prior to the second century B.C. the Ṛṣikas, the Śakas and the Tuṣāras were all settled in Central Asia, from the Caspian Sea to Chinese Turkestan, and therefore there was no context in which *kanthā*-ending names could be borrowed from them in the Uśīnara and Varṇu regions.

The only plausible explanation therefore seems to be that a wave of Śaka migration had at some remote period moved from their old homes in Central Asia and left behind them a trail of Śaka place-names. The route followed seems to have been through the Tochi, Gomal and other valleys from the direction of the Gazni Kandahar uplands, descending on the Varṇu valley and spreading delta-like towards the Indus plain until it reached the Uśīnara region between the Ravi and the Chenab in the Vāhīka country. This was certainly the route followed in the historical Śaka invasion of India in the first century B.C. As remarked by Sten Konow: 'Any direct invasion from the north seems, in fact, to be out of question. It is therefore far more probable, nay almost certain, that the Śakas reached India indirectly, and that, like the Pahlavas, they came through Ariana (W. and S. Afghānistān and Baluchistān) by the great highway associated in modern times with the Bolan Pass, which led from the Parthian provinces of Drangiāna (Seistān) and Arachosia (Kandahār) over the Brāhui mountains into the country of the lower Indus (Sindh) (*Corpus*, p. xxxi). All traces of this Śaka migration seem to have disappeared except the literary data which bespeak earlier contacts prior to the time of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. The Purāṇas preserve faint echoes of a Śaka advance upto Ayodhyā in the reign of Bāhu, and the latter's son Sagara later on is credited with checkmating their design and compelling them to retreat (*Viṣṇu*, IV. 3; *Vāyu*, Ch. 88; *Brahmāṇḍa*, Ch. 63). But this takes us into regions about which we know harldy anything as yet either from archæology or from recorded history. The Maga Brāhmaṇas settled in the eastern districts of Oudh provide ethnological relics which equally call for explanation.

Stavaraka

Bāṇa refers to *stavaraka* cloth twice in the *Harṣacarita* :

(i) *tāra-muktā-stabakita-stavaraka-vārabāṇaiḥ*, VII, p. 206;
(ii) *stavaraka-nivaha-nirantara-cchādyamāna-samasta-paṭalaḥ*

(IV, p. 143; Nirṇaya-Sagara Press edition, 5th edition). In the first reference the *stavaraka* was a cloth studded with clusters of bright pearls and it is stated that kings in the train of Harṣa wore tunics made of it. The commentator Śaṅkara explains it as a kind of cloth (*stavarako vastrabhedaḥ*). In the second reference the canopies are said to be covered with *stavaraka* awnings. So far as I know the word has no previous or subsequent history, and has no intelligible derivation in the Sanskrit language. There seems to be little doubt that it was borrowed in Sanskrit form the Pahlavi language of the Sāsānian period in the time of Harṣa. The Pahlavi form *stavra*, meaning thick or strong, is used for cloth in the *Ardā Virāf* referring to 'glorious and thick splendid clothing' (*xvarrah-ōmand u stavr u vaxśak patmōčan*, *Ardā Virāf*, xiv, 14, p. 164, Martin Haug's edition, 1872). It seems that the Arabic *istabraq* and the modern Persian *istabrak* were both derived from Pahlavi *stavr* with suffix *k* added to it. The Arabic word *istabraq* means thick silk brocade (F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London, p. 50), and it has been used in the Qurā'n 'only in early passages in the description of the raiment of the faithful in Paradise. It is one of the few words that have been very generally recognized by the Muslim authorities as a Persian loan-word' (A Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurā'n*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, pp. 58-59). It is thus evident from the literary and linguistic evidence that the costly silken fabric known as *stavaraka* was originally manufactured in Persia during Sāsānian times, and that during the seventh century it was being imported into Arabia on the west and India on the east. It is probably recognisable in the rich tunics worn by the Sun-god in his images, which otherwise also display several Sāsānian features. Bāṇa says that it was a cloth adorned with clusters of glistening pearls. This feature assists us in identifying the fabric on two terracotta figurines from Ahicchatrā (V.S. Agrawala, "Terracotta Figurines of Ahicchatra," *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 130, fig. 102, and p. 165 fig. 286).

Piṅgā

The word *piṅgā* is what may be called a "cultural loan-word" borrowed by India from Central Asia. In the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya there occurs twice a word *prigha* (nos. 316, 318) which Lüders, *Textilien in alten Turkistan* (*Arb. PAW.*, 1936), p. 30, combined with Sanskrit *pṛṅga* used in the *Mahāvyutpatti*, 232, 26, and explained as "thin flowered silk." W. B. Henning in his admirable paper on "Two Central Asian Words" (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1945, pp. 150-157), has dealt in detail with *pṛṅga*, showing that it denoted a monochrome damask or unicoloured figured silk. In Document No. 318 (line 6) Lüders corrected the text given by Boyer, Rapson, and Senart, and proposed *spet-prigha*, "white damask," and his emendation has been approved by T. Burrow, *Transl. of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents*, 1940 p. 59, after examination of the original. According to Henning 'In the *Mahāvyutpatti prigha* is spelt *pṛṅga*, with *variants pṛṅgu* and *pṛṅgā*. The best Sanskrit form would presumably be *pṛṅga*. Thus spelt, the word is found in yet another dictionary of Buddhist Sanskrit, the *Fan-Yu-ts'ien-tyu-wen*, fol. 38^{a}2^{a}, cf. Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, i. (1929) p. 280, No. 541. It is there explained by *ling*, "fine and thin silk material, damask" (Henning, *ibid.*, p. 150), While tracing the extensive ramifications of the word, Henning writes: **pring* occurs only in Central Asian Sanskrit; it is unknown to Sanskrit proper, or indeed to any Indian dialect. However, it is found also in several Iranian languages, notably in those spoken in Chinese Turkestan; it also appeared in Western Iranian, in Pahlavi and Persian, whence it migrated to Aramaic and Arabic (*Transactions of the Philo. Society*, 1945, p. 151).

Happily the word occurs both in Sanskrit proper and also in an Indian dialect, viz., Punjābi. It occurs in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the description of the different kinds of dresses of the chieftains in Harṣa's retinue, where we already found mention of *stavaraka :*

(i) *uccitra-netra-sukumāra svasthana-sthagita-jaṅghākāṇḍaiśca,*
(ii) *kārdamika-paṭa-kalmāṣita-piśanga-piṅgaiḥ* (*Harṣacarita*, VII, p. 206).

Cowell, who says that the sense here is far from clear, translates the passages thus:

(i) Their shanks were covered with their proper covering of delicate tinted silk.

(ii) Their copper-coloured legs were chequered with mud-stained wraps.

The second quotation contains the word *piṅgā* which Śaṅkara explains as *janghikā,* i.e. Hindi *jāṅghiyā* or knickers. Sanskrit lexicons do not record the word in this sense, and there is no doubt that we have here the Central Asian word *piṅgā* or *pṛṅga,* meaning 'unicoloured silk.' The meaning would then be that 'their reddish-brown or tawny-coloured damasks were chequered with ash-coloured wraps.'

In the first quotation Bāṇa refers to trousers made of *netra* cloth. The *svastha-gagana* of the Nirnaya-Sagar Press edition is a corrupt text; the Kashmir text and the Commentary read *svasthāna,* which is preserved in the Hindi word *sutthana* "trousers." Saṅkara on pl. 143 explains the word *netra* as *pṛṅga,* which seems to preserve the correct rendering of that oft repeated word. *Pṛṅga* itself was not understood by subsequent writers, and, in the light of the Central Asian word *prigha* or *pṛṅgā,* we can now explain *netra* as damask or unicoloured silk. Bāṇa with characteristic vividness describes it as *uccitra* "figured;" so in *uccitra netra* we have a reference to the monochrome figured silk cloth which may have been either manufactured in India or imported from China and Central Asia. The meaning of the first line therefore would be: 'their shanks were held stiff in their trousers made of delicate figured silk.' It has been said above that damask was of one colour, and the colour-denoting word was often prefixed to it, as in *speta-prigha* "white damask" in the Niya document No. 318, and *spytyy pryng npwsn* "a garment of white damask" (in the unpublished Manichaean Sogdian document quoted by Henning); or in *kp'wtk pr'ynk=kapote pring* "a dark-blue piece of damask" or in *'sm'nywn kp'wth pr'ynk* "a light blue piece of damask," mentioned in the Sogdian manuscripts discovered by M. Pelliot at Tun-huang and published by Benveniste (Henning, *ibid.,* p. 151). Bāṇa similarly adds *pisaṅga* "tawny" to indicate the colour of the *piṅgā* cloth described by him.

Now, as regards the dialectical form of *pringa* in India. According to Henning, in Persian *pring* has suffered three changes. First a brief vowel, either *i* or *a*, was inserted between *p* and *r*. Secondly the final *-ng* was replaced by *-nd*. Thirdly, the main vowel was changed to *-a-*. The standard Persian form, *parand*, occurs already in Pahlavi, where we have *parand* (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1945, p. 155). In the Punjābi dialect we still have the word *parāndā* for the silk ribbon of the hair.

V. S. AGRAWALA

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Observations on the sources of the Apabhraṃsa stanzas of Hemacandra

In his introduction to *Bhavisattakahā* Dr. Gune observes "Although he does not mention any dialects, Hemacandra's treatment of the Apabhraṃśa is complete. The value of the grammar is enhanced by the quotations in verse that he has given with every sūtra. Sometime one single sūtra has several verses as instances. Until more literature in Apabhraṃśa is published it is not possible to trace their source; but they appear, as Pischel has rightly remarked, to be taken from some anthology like Hāla's *Sattasāī.*" (p. 64). The sources of the Apabhraṃśa verses, which are thus described by Gune, have not been traced so far. In this paper, an attempt has been made to trace the sources of some thirty or thirty-five stanzas, which is but a small fraction of the entire body of verses. We shall refer to the texts from which the verses are believed to have been taken and judge how far the question of borrowing is true. For such a purpose let us divide the verses into three classes:—first (A) those, which are quoted verbatim in other works without any change whatsoever (barring the alternative readings); secondly (B) those which are found in other works with slight changes and their identity is sometimes easily perceived; thirdly (C) those which expressing sentiments and thoughts of kindred nature appear in different forms in the other works.

In our endeavour we first look to the *Sattasaī* of Hāla with which the erotic verses of Hemacandra have some affinity. Such an affinity is mainly due to the fact that the current of prākṛta lyrics which were flowing down traditionally for a long time and cultivated with much care by Hāla had its natural culmination in the Apabhraṃśa poems, some relics of which we find in Hemacandra.

In the beginning we should mention that we do not find any reason to accept as true Pischel's suggestion that the verses of Hemacandra were taken possibly from some anthology like Hāla's *Sattasaī,* which was supported by Prof. Gune. We believe, on the contrary, that the verses which are of various nature and sentiments, were culled by Hemacandra from different Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa texts, and in his attempt to revise them, probably he made slight changes here and there.

Prof. Keith's surmise that "the Prākrit lyrics passed into Apabhraṃśa as a result of the activities of the Ābhiras and the Gurjaras' is based probably on Daṇḍin's assertion "आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्तृतः"[1] which gave rise to various contentions among scholars. This statement of Daṇḍin which is full of significance, has been subject to many widely-varying interpretations.

Now, let us see how far Hemacandra is indebted to Hāla. The verse

"जेण विणा ण जिविज्जइ अणुणिज्जइ सो कआवराहो वि ।
पत्ते वि णअरदाहे भण कस्स ण वल्लहो अग्गी ।" II. 63.

[Trans. One who is indispensable is supplicated though he has done a fault. To whom is not fire a desired object, though it burns the city], which is quoted in the *Prākrit Pāiṅgala,* Mātrā Vṛttā stanza 55, and *Vajjālaggā,* 557, is differently expressed by Hemacandra in the verse

"विप्पिअ-आरउ जइ वि पिउ तो वि तं आणहि अज्जु ।
अग्गिण दड्ढा जइ वि घरु तो तें अग्गिं कज्जु" । IV. 353. 2.

It is quite evident that Hemacandra borrowed it from Hāla though there is no means of determining the fact whether he took it directly from his anthology or from some other text in which the verse was quoted. We find a few others also. The verse Hāla I. 17.

एहइ सो वि पउत्थो अहं अ कुप्पेज्ज सो वि अणुणेज्ज ।
इअ कस्स वि फलइ मणोरहाणं माला पिअअमम्मि ॥

[Trans.: He living in the distance will return; I shall (pretend to) be angry with him and he will pacify me. Of whom such desires with reference to the lover become fulfilled in life?] has some resemblance with the stanza IV. 414. 4. that runs

एसी पिउ रूसेसु हउं रुट्ठी मइ अणुणेइ ।
पग्गिम्व एइ मणोरहइं दुक्करु दइउ करेइ ॥

[Trans.: My lover will come: I shall get angry with him; he will console me when I am angry. So the cruel lover makes (his beloved) cherish such hopes]. There occurs also Hāla I. 93.

अविअह्ह पेक्खणिज्जेण तक्खणं मामि तेण दिट्ठेण ।
सिविणअ पीएण व पाणिएण तण्ह विअ ण फिट्टा ॥

[Trans.: He, fit to be insatiably gazed at, was seen at that time; but he could not quench thirst (i.e. bring in satiety) as water drunk in a dream], which can be compared with Hemacandra IV. 434. 1.

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[1] *Kāvyādarśa,* I. 36.

संदेसें काइं तुहारेण जे सङ्गहो ण मिलिज्जइ ।
सुइणन्तरि पीएं पाणिएण पिअ पिआस किं छिज्जइ ॥

[Trans.: What is the use of your messages when you do not give me your company; can thirst be quenched by water drunk in a dream?] Again Hāla 6. 43.

अम्बवणे भमरउलं ण विणा कज्जेण ऊसुअं भमइ ।
कन्तो जलणेण विणा घूमस्स सीहाउ दीसन्ति ॥

[Trans.: The bees do not fly in vain with eagerness in the mango groves. How could the flames of the fire be visible if there be no fire within], can be set in comparison with Hemacandra IV. 415.

विरहाणल-जाल-करालिअउ पहिउ को वि वुड्डिवि ठिअउ ।
अणु सिसिरकालि सीअल-जलहु धमु कहलिहु उट्ठिअउ ॥

[Trans.: A certain traveller, enflamed by the fire of separation must have taken a plunge into the waters; how, otherwise, can smoke rise up from cold water in this season of winter?] Further Hāla 4. 95.

एहिसि तुमं त्ति निमिसं व जग्गीअं जामिणीअं पढमद्धंम् ।
सेसं संताव परव्वसाइ वरिसं व वोलीणं ॥

[Trans.: I kept awake in the first half of the night with an expectation that you would come. The second half which was gloomy with the fervour (of dejection) was however passed like a year.] bears a remote semblance with Hemacandra IV. 418. 3

चञ्चलु जीविउ ध्रुवु मरणु पिउ रुसिज्जइ काइं ।
होसहिं दिअहा रुसणा दिव्वइं वरिससयाइं ॥

[Trans.: Life is fickle, death is certain; my lover, how can one afford to be angry? For days on which one is angry, will appear (long like) hundred years of gods.] Thus Hāla 7. 95.

धण्णा वहिरा अन्धा ते च्चिअ जीअन्ति माणुसे लोए ।
ण सुणंति पिसुणवअणं खलाण रिद्धिं ण पेक्खन्ति ॥

[Trans.: The deaf and the blind are fortunate and they prosper indeed in the world, since they do not hear the words of the wicked and see their prosperity.] is indeed echoed in the verse Hem. IV. 340. 1.

दइवु घडवइ वणि तरुहुं सउणिहँ पक्क फलाइं ।
सो वरि सुक्खु पइट्ठ णवि कण्णहिँ खल वअणाइं ॥

[Trans.: God has created ripe fruits on trees in the forests for birds; it is better to have that pleasure, but not to have words of the wicked falling on our ears]

The next work that comes into consideration is another Prākrit anthology called *Vajjālaggā,* whose author is Jayavallabha, a Jain. It is believed to be younger than the *Sattasaī* of Hāla and it contains many of the verses of the latter. The stanzas of Hemacandra are more akin to the verses of *Vajjālaggā* and we think that Hemacandra might have consulted it while culling illustrative stanzas for his grammar. The verses of *Vajjālaggā* bear unmistakably some notable character of the Apabhraṃśa lyrics, the same unsophisticated passion of love, and the breath of a free homely life in the close bosom of nature, which do not escape the observation of the scholars. About the affinity of the verses of *Vajjālaggā* with the Apabhraṃśa lyrics of the later days Prof. Keith has made the following remarks:—"A later Prākrit anthology is the *Vajjālaggā of* Jayavallabha, a Śvetāmbara Jain, of uncertain date who deliberately collects matter to illustrate the three ends of man, conduct, practical wisdom and love: to the latter topic falls two thirds of the whole. The stanzas are in Āryā metre, and the Māhārāṣṭrī shows signs of influence of Apabhraṃśa."[2]

Now, let us study the verses one by one and see how far the influence of *Vajjālaggā* on the Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Hemacandra can be admitted. The verse 417 of *Vajjālaggā* which reads

जइ सो न एइ गेहं ता दूइ अहोमुही तुमं कीस ।
सो होही मज्झ पिओ जो तुज्झ न खण्डए वअणं ॥

[Trans.: If he does not come home, then O messenger (go-between), why do you cast your face downward? He is dear to me who does not disregard your words] is echoed in the following verse of Hemacandra IV. 367. 1.

जइ न सु आवइ दूइ घरु काइं अहोमुहु तुज्झु ।
वयणु जु खण्डइ तउ सहिए सो पिउ होइ न मज्झु ॥

[Trans.: O messengers, if he does not come to my house, why is your face down cast? My dear friend, he who disrespects your word cannot be dear to me]. Here, we must admit that the influence is unmistakable. Besides, *Vajjā.*, 433.

तह झीणा तुह विरहे अणुदियहं सुन्दरङ्गं तणुयङ्गी ।
जह सिढिलवलयनिवडणभएण उब्भियकरा भमइ ॥

[Trans.: Due to separation from you the beautiful limbs of the fair lady are always emaciated; as if she walks with her arms raised up·

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[2] *History of Skt. literature, p.* 226.

wards as she apprehends the fall of the slack bangles] partially corresponds to Hemacandra IV. 444. 2.

वलयावलि-णिवडणभएण धन उद्धभुअ जाइ ।
वल्लह-विरह-महादहहो थाह गवेसइ नाइ ॥

[Trans.: On account of the fear of dropping down her bracelets the fair-lady walks with her arms raised up as if to find out the depth of the great pond of separation from her lover]. The second line of Hemacandra, shows some originality, while the first seems to be a repetition of the second line of the afore-quoted verse of *Vajjālaggā*. But, the similarity seems to be greater between the verse *Vajjā.*, 723.

भूमीगयं न चत्ता सूरं दहूण चक्कबाएण ।
जीवग्गलव्व दिन्ना मुणालिया बिरहभीएण ॥

[Trans.: Seeing the sun the Cakravāka did not leave the ground (i.e. its short stay in the world): afraid as it was of separation, a lotus-stalk was put as a bar so that life could not depart] and Hemacandra IV. 444. 1.

रवि अत्थमणि समाउलेण कण्ठि विइण्णु न छिण्णु ।
चक्कें खण्डु मुणालिअहे णउ जीवग्गलु दिण्णु ॥

[Trans.: On the setting of the sun the bird Cakra(vāka) became excited (at the idea of separation from his mate) and did not eat the piece of lotus fibre though he had put it into his mouth; it was as if put there as a bar so that his life should not depart]. Again *Vajjā.*, 559.

तावच्चिय ढलहलया जाव च्चिय णेहपूरियसरीरा ।
सिद्धत्था उण छेया णेहविहूणा खल हुन्ति ॥

[Trans.: The cultured (also the sesame crop) is so long soft as long as love (oil) exists in the body; but when the purpose is served, he (it) devoid of love (oil) proves to be a wicked person (is reduced to an oil-cake)] corresponds well with Hem. IV. 406. 2.

तिलहं तिलत्तणु ताउं पर जाउं न णेह गलन्ति ।
णेहि पणट्ठइ ते ज्जि तिल तिल फिट्टवि खल होन्ति ॥

[Trans.: Sesamum can be called such so long as oil (स्नेह) is not pressed out; but when it is pressed out, the same sesamum loses its quality of being a sesamum and becomes खल (oil-cake, wicked)].

The following three verses of *Vajjālaggā* seem to be repetitions fundamentally of one and the same idea, if we do not count the minor differences existing among themselves. These are *Vajjā.*, 78.

दिट्ठे वि हु होइ सुहं जइ वि न पावन्ति अङ्गसङ्गाइं ।
दुरट्ठिओ वि चन्दो सुनिव्वुइं कुणइ कुमुयाणं ॥

[Trans.: If there be no physical contacts, some pleasure can be derived at least by sight (of the desired person or object): the moon though placed at a distance gives delight to the lilies]. *Vajjā.*, 77.

दूरट्ठिया न दूरं सज्जणचित्ताण पुव्वमिलियाणं ।
गयणट्ठिओ वि चन्दो आसासइ कुमुयषण्डाइं ॥

[Trans.: Distance is not considered to be a hindrance to the union of hearts inclined to each other beforehand. The moon which is far above in the sky gives hope to the lilies] and *Vajjā.*, 80.

कत्तो उग्गमइ रवी कत्तो वियसन्ति पङ्कयवलाइं ।
सुयणाण जत्थो णेहो न चलइ दूरट्ठियाणं पि ॥

[Trans.: Whence rises the sun and where do the lotuses bloom? The love of the good can never abate though they live separately in the distance]. All of them can be fairly compared with Hem. IV. 422. 7.

कहिं ससहरु कहिं मयरहरु कहिं वरिदिणु कहिं मेहु ।
दूरट्ठिआहँ वि सज्जणाहं होइ असड्ढलु णेहु ॥

[Trans.: What a great distance there is between the moon and the ocean and between the peacock and the cloud? There is uncommon friendship of the good persons however distanced they may stand]. and also Hem. IV. 332. 1.

अगलिअ णेह-णिवट्टाहं जोअण-लक्खु वि जाउ ।
वरिससएण वि जो मिलइ सहि सोक्खहँ सो ठाउ ॥

[Trans.: Let there be (a distance of) a lac of yojanas between those that stand separated but do not lose their affection (अगलित स्नेह) for, O friend, he is the source (store) of joy who meets with unchanged affection once in hundred years].

Some of the stanzas of *Vajjālaggā* are similar in nature with a few of Hemacandra though it is not possible to assert with emphasis that such similarity is due to the influence of the former on the latter. Some of these are being quoted below:—Thus *Vajjā.*, 192.

मा सुमरसु चन्दणपल्लवाण करिणाह गेण्ह तिणकवलं ।
जं जहा परिणमइ तं तह धीरा पडिच्छन्ति ॥

[Trans.: O lord of elephants! do not think of the twigs of the sandal-tree but take morsels of grass. The wise face bravely whatever circumstances surround them] can be compared with Hem. IV. 387. 1.

कुञ्जंर सुमरि स सल्लइउ सरला सास म मेल्लि ।
कवल जि पाविय विहि-वसिण ते चरि माणु म मेल्लि ॥

[Trans.: O elephant, do not think of the सल्लकी plants: do not breathe heavy (long) sighs; eat only those morsels which luck brings you, do not give up your self-respect]. Also *Vajjā.*, 295.

कस्य ण भिन्दइ हिअयं अनङ्गसरधोरणिव्व निवडन्ती ।
वालाए वलियलोयण फुरलमयालसा दिट्ठी ॥

[Trans.: Whose heart is not pierced by the radiant and intoxicated glances of the dancing eye of the girl which fall like a stream of arrows of cupid] with Hem. IV. 330. 3.

विट्टीए मइ भणिय तुहुँ मा करु वङ्की दिट्ठी ।
पुत्ति सकण्वी भल्लि जिवँ मारइ हिअइ पइट्ठि ॥

[Trans.: O maiden I told you: do not send side-glances (वक्रा दृष्टि) for (these glances) entering into the heart (of others) kill them as a spear with sharp and curved edge does] and *Vajjā.*, 351.

अग्घाइ महुं दे गेण्ह चन्दणं असुणि सुणसु मह वअणं ।
माणेण मा णडिज्जसु माणंसिणि गलइ छणराई ॥

[Trans.: Inhale the scent at the मङ्कूक flower, take sandel-paste; oh unhearing lady! please hear my words. Oh broad-hearted one, do not feign anger, the short night is quickly passing] with Hem. IV. 330. 2.

ढोल्ला मइं तुहुं वारिया मा करु दीहा माणु ।
निद्दए गमिही रत्तडी दडवड होइ विहाणु ॥

[Trans.: Man (friend), I warned you not to be proud (not to hold out) for long; for the night would pass away in sleep, and it will dawn quickly].

We have quoted a good number of verses from *Vajjālaggā* and it is quite manifest that its verses show a close connection with the stanzas of Hemacandra which cannot be denied at any cost. It seems to be deeper than that which exists between the latter and the stanzas of the *Sattasaī*.

The sources of some five verses of Hemacandra has been traced in the Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Rāmasimha's *Pāhuḍadohā* which is believed to be earlier than the Pkt. grammar. Prof. H. Jain, the editor of the text had advanced arguments to prove Hemacandra's indebtedness to Rāmasiṃha but Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf contradicts him. He thinks,

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on the contrary, the verses of Hemacandra to be original and those of Rāmasiṃha to be adaptations—in his own words 'umgedichteter Form.' Before we enter into the controversy we quote the verses of both side by side, and see how far they tally and to whom the credit of being original can be given without the least hesitation. *Pahuḍadohā* 88, occurs as

सयलु वि को वि तडप्फडइ सिद्धतणहु तणेण ।
सिद्धत्तणु परि पावियइ चित्तहं णिम्मलएण ॥

[Trans.: A'l strive for success (सिद्धत्त i.e. the attainment of the highest spiritual goal), but it can be attained only by the purity of the soul]. The same appears in Hem. IV. 365. 1. as

साहु वि लोउ तडप्फडइ वड्डत्तणहो तणेण ।
वड्डप्पणु पुणि परिपाविअइ हत्थि मोकलडेण ॥

[Trans.: The whole world is striving for greatness; but greatness is obtained only by hand that is freely distributing charities]. *Pahuḍadohā*, 151.

छंडेविणु गुण रयणणिहि अग्घथडिहिं घिप्पंति ।
तहिं संखाहं विहाणु पर फुक्किज्जंति न भन्ति ॥

[Trans.: Much of a commodity that comes for sale after leaving an ocean of virtue is lost; (look to) the fate of the conch which is blown off and there is no doubt about it] corresponds to Hem. IV. 422. 3.

जे छड्डेविणु रयणणिहि अप्पउ तडि घल्लन्ति ।
तहं सङ्खहं विट्टालु परु फुक्किज्जन्त भमन्ति ॥

[Trans.: (I think with abhorrence) the contact with conches that cast away themselves on the shore after having abandoned the store of gems—the ocean; they wander being blown off by others]. Again, *Pāhuḍadohā, 169.*

अक्खइ निरामइ परमगइ अजवि लउ ण लहंति ।
भग्गी मणहं ण भंतडी तिम दिवहडा गणंति ॥

[Trans.: The doubt of the mind is not dispersed until it is merged in the highest place which is imperishable and free trom danger, so it counts the days] finds expression in Hem. 414. 2. as

प्राइव मुणिहं वि भन्तडी तें मणिअडा गणन्ति ।
अक्खइ निरमइ परमपइ अज्जवि लउ न लहन्ति ॥

[Trans.: Probab'y even the sages are wrong; they simply count the beads; they do not yet become merged in that highest place which is free from danger and is imperishable] *Pāhuḍadohā*, 177. which reads

जइ इक्कहि पावीसि पय अंकय कोडी करीसु ।
णं अंगुलि पय पयडपइं जिम सव्वंगय सीसु ।

[Trans.: If I get (proceed) a single step, I shall make a novel fun. If the fingers and the feet be exposed, then the entire body will be naked] is represented in Hem. IV 396. 4. as

जइ केवंइ पावीसु पिउ अकिया कुड्ड करीसु ।
पाणिउ नवइं सरावि जिवं सव्वङ्गें पइसीसु ॥

[Trans.: If somehow I meet my lover I shall do something wonderful never done before; I shall enter into him with all my body as water pervades the new earthen jar.]. Lastly, जिम लोणु विलिज्जइ पाणियहं— a portion of the entire dohā

जिम लोणु विलिज्जइ पाणियहं' तिम जइ चित्तु विलिज्ज ।
समरसि हुवइ जीवडा कहिं समाहि करिज्ज ॥

[Trans.: If the mind dissolves, as salt does into the water, then the being becomes indifferent (समरस). Then what necessity has one of meditation?] occurs exactly in Hem. IV. 418. 5. which reads

लोणु विलिज्जइ पाणिएण अरि खल मेह म गज्जु ।
वालिउ गलइ सुझुम्पडागोरी तिम्मइ अज्जु ॥

[Trans.: Salt (beauty) is melted by water; oh wicked cloud, do not thunder; for the hut, which is burnt, would dripple and the fair lady inside may get wet today].

Prof. H. Jain believes that Hem. borrowed these stanzas from *Pābuḍadohā* which is a religious work full of mystic ideas. He reshuffled and put them to use in such a manner that they could be easily understood without any knowledge of technical mysticism.[3] Basing on this assumption that those four verses of Hemacandra are taken from *Pābuḍadohā,* he tries to determine the approximate date of the latter. Thus, he asserts:—"That four verses of this work occur in Hemacandra points to the fact that it was composed before Hemacandra. There is no doubt about the date of the latter. Hemacandra has himself admitted at the end of his grammar that he composed it in honour of the king Siddharāja of the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarāta. Siddharāja ascended to the throne of Gujarātā in 1090 A.D. and ruled his kingdom till 1143 A.D. In 1143 A.D. his successor Kumārapāla occupied the throne. So, it is established that the grammar of Hemacandra was composed sometime between 1093 to 1143 A.D. Further, it is proved that the present work was composed before 1100 A.D."[4] But a little reflection shows that the dohās 151 and 169 of Rāmasiṃha do not seem to yield a meaning more satisfactory than that offered by their representatives in Hemacandra. Besides the stanza 117 of the *Pāhuḍadohā* is so shrouded in obscurity that any suitable meaning cannot be exacted from it inspite of our best efforts. But the corresponding verse of Hemacandra does not present us any such difficulty in grasping a comprehensible sense. Even Prof. Jain realised it; so he had to admit the defect.[5] Possibly these defects seemed to be too gross to Prof. Alsdorf who denied the text the credit of being the original version of those stanzas. So he argued "Quite similar examples which show a recast after the Jain religion and which were originally of a pure secular nature, occur in the *Pāhuḍadohā* of Rāmasiṃha (ed. H. Jain Karanja Jaina Series III). There occur four stanzas rather parts of strophes, which have been maintained in their original forms by Hemacandra (and cited for contrast by Jain, 22 f.)......Even with regard to the other stanzas there cannot be any such assumption that Hemacandra quoted them from Rāmasiṃha as Prof. Jain thought. Rather the verses which we find in Hemacandra are original and the version of Rāmasiṃha is a remodelled one. So the conclusions, based upon this chronology, as Jain has drawn from the assumed borrowing of the stanzas from the text of Rāmasiṃha by Hemacandra, are obviously untenable.”[6]

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[3] "हेमचन्द्रकृत व्याकरणमें जो दोहे उदाहरणरुपसे दिये गये है उनके सम्वन्धमें विद्वानोंका यही है वे उस समयके प्रचलित साहित्यसे लिये गये है । यह वात सत्य है कि हेमचन्द्रने उन दोहों को कुछ परिवर्त्तितरूपमें दिये हैं । किन्तु यह कोई आश्चर्य्य की वात नही है क्योंकि जव एक विद्वान् वैयाकरण व्याकरणके निपमों की पुष्टिमें कोई उदाहरण देगा जो वह उसकी जिह्वा से परिवर्त्तित हो कर ही निकलेगा । दुसरे हेमचन्द्र कवि भी ये उन्होने होहोंको सार्वजनिक रूचिके अनुकूल वनाकर रखा है ।" *Introduction to Pābuḍadohā,* p. 23.

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[4] "इसप्रकार हेमचन्द्राचार्य्यमें इस ग्रन्थके चारे दोहे पाये जाने से सिद्ध होता है कि यह ग्रन्थ उक्त आचार्य्यके पूर्व्व वना चुका था। हेमचन्द्रके समयके सम्बन्धमें कोई शङ्का नहो है। उन्होने अपने व्याकरणके अन्तमें स्वयं कहा है। कि वह ग्रन्थ उन्होंने गुजरातके चालुक्यवंशी राजा सिद्धराज की अभ्यर्थना से लिखा। सिद्धराज गुजरातके राजसिंहासन पर सन १०९० ईस्वीमें बैठे, और उन्होंने सन ११४३ तक राज्य किया। ११४३ में उन्होंने उत्तराधिकारी कुमारपाल सिंहासनपर आये। अतः सिद्ध है कि हेमचन्द्रका व्याकरण सन १०९३ और ११४३ के वीचमें वना है। इससे प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ सन् ११०० से पूर्व्वका वना हुआ सिद्ध होता है।" *ibid.*, p. 29.

[5] "यह दोहा जिस रूपमें है उससे उसकी दूसरी पंक्तिका कुछ स्पष्ट अर्थ समझमें नहो आता। यही दोहा हेमचन्द्र ने अपने प्राकृत व्याकरणके ४थे पादके ३९६ सूत्रके उदाहरणमें इसप्रकार उद्धृत किया है जइ केवइ इत्यादि। यह भाव परमात्मध्यानके सम्बन्धमें भी अच्छी तरह योजित किया जा सकता है। सम्भवतः हमारे ग्रन्थके दोहे का यही शुद्ध रूप है। लिपिकारोंके उसका अर्थ न समझने के कारण उसका पाठ भ्रष्ट हो गया है।"

It is not possible to come to any definite conclusion, from the foregoing facts which are too scanty. The original source might have been some ancient text from which both Rāmasiṃha and Hemacandra quoted the stanzas. The text might have been also in some earlier Pkt. dialect, which was extant before the rise and development of Apabhraṃsa. As we cannot advance arguments in support of our statement it remains yet a suggestion needing substantiation. But, as regards the date of the *Pāhuḍadohā* we believe that it is probably earlier than the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra. If we set aside even the arguments of Prof. Jain, the very language of the text, its archaic nature point to its priority to the latter.

The next work to which we look for tracing the sources of the Apa. stanzas is the *Paramātma-prakāśa* of Yogīndradeva. Two verses of Hemacandra are found here with some minor changes and they present some controversy among scholars. The verse 270 of Yogīndradeva reads

संता विसय जु परिहरइ वलि किज्जउ हउँ तासु ॥
सो दइवेण जु मुंडिअउ सोसु खडिल्लउ तासु ॥

[Trans.: I offer homage to him who renounces the worldly objects that he possesses. He is indeed shaved by fate who has a bald head]. The same appears in Hem. IV. 389. 1. as

सला भोगा जु परिहरइ तसु कलहो वलि कीसु ।
तसु दइवेण वि मुण्डियउं जसु खल्लिहडउ सीसु ॥

[Trans.: I offer my homage to that lover who rejects enjoyments

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6 “Ganz ähnliche Beispiale religiös-jinistisher Umdichtungen ursprünglich rein weltlicher Strophen finden sich in Rāmasiṃha’s *Pāhuḍadohās* (ed. H. Jain Karanja Jain Series III). Dort kommen vier Strophen bzw. Strophenteile vor, die von. Hem. in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt zitiert werden (zusammengestellt von Jain S. 22 f.)........................Auch bei den anderen Strophen kann keine Rede davon sein, dass Hem. sie—wie Jain meint von Rām zitiert hatte; vielmehr lesen wir sie bei Hem. in ursprünglicher, bei Rām in umgedichteter Form Damieit werden auch die chronologischen Forlgerungen, die Jain aus der angeblichen zitierung von Strophen Rāms durch Hem. ableite, hinfälling.’ *Apabhraṃśa studien*, p. 64.

offered; (for), he who has a bald head, is already shaved by fate]. Again the verse 271 of Yogīndradeva which we find as

पंचहु नायकु वसि करहु जेण होंति वसु अरण ।
मूल विणट्ठइ तरुवरइं अवसहं सुक्खहिँ पराण ॥

[Trans.: Control the five agents, to whom the rest are subordinate. When the root of the tree is destroyed, the leaves must be dried up] appears in Hem. IV. 427. 1. as

जिविन्दिउ नापकु वसि करहुजसु अधिन्नइ अन्नइं ।
मुलि विनट्ठइ तुंविणिहे अवसें सुक्खहि पराणइं ॥

[Trans.: Keep under control the sense organ called tongue which is the head and under which all others live; when the root of तुंविनो gourd-creeper is completely killed, the leaves will certainly dry up].

Prof. A. N. Upadhye believes that Hemacandra borrowed these two stanzas from the text of Yogindradeva and in support of his assertion he says: "The change of the verbal form क्रिज्जउ to फीसु is quite intelligible if we look to the sūtra and his commentary there on 'क्रिये कीसु IV. 389. क्रियेः इत्येतस्य क्रिपापदस्य अपभ्रंशेय कीसु इत्यादेशो वा भवति and so forth. Further Hemacandra admits क्रिज्जउ as an optional form and gives an 'illustration 'वलि क्रिज्जउ सुअणस्तु' which also appears to have been suggested from the above-quoted dohā. Then under IV. 427. हेम quotes the following verse 'जिविन्दिउ नायकु वसि करहु' etc. Inspite of striking variations the dohā is based on the one in *Paramātma-prakāśa* ....The consecutive numbers of these two dohās in *Paramātma-prakāśa*—if at all any inference is possible therefrom—point to the fact that Hemacandra might have drawn these quotations directly from *Paramātma-prakāśa*. Then under II. 80. a short sentence 'वोद्रह-द्रहम्मि पडिया' is quoted and this we find to be a regular part of the following दोहा of *Paramātma-prakāśa*

ते च्चिय धराणा ते च्चिय सप्पुरिसा ते जियंतु जिवलोए ।
वोद्रह-द्रहम्मि पडिया तरंति जे चेव लीलाए ॥[7]

In his edition of the *Paramātma-prakāśa* Prof. Upadhya has quoted another verse which occurs with slight changes in the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra. The version of the *Paramātma-prakāśa* is

वलि-किउ मानुस-जम्मडा देक्खतह पर सारु ।
जह उट्ठब्भइ तो कुहह अह डज्झइ तो छारु ॥

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7 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 1931. pp. 159-60.

[Trans.: I pay homage to the human birth, which is the best of all, to which the creatures with the sense of sight are subject. If the human body be buried it stinks, if it be burnt it is reduced to ashes] while that of Hemacandra is

आयहो दड्ढकलेवरहो जं वाहिउ तं सारु ।
जइ उट्ठब्भइ तो कुहइ अह डज्झइ तो छारु ॥ IV. 365. 3.

[Trans.: Whatever is obtained of this wretched body is best; if it is covered it stinks, if it is burnt it turns into ashes][8]

Having this as the basis Prof. Upadhye fixes up the date of Yogindradeva. "From the facts noted above it is plain that Hemacandra has used *Paramātma-prakāśa* for his grammar of the Apabhraṃśa dialect and that Joindu must have lived at least a couple of centuries before Hema's composition of his grammar looking to the conditions of communications and of that period."[9] He maintains the same view in the introduction of his edition of the *Paramātma-prakāśa*. "This means that Joindu can be put earlier than Hemacandra at least by a couple of centuries."[10] L. B. Gandhi, the editor of Apabhraṁśa Kāvyatrayī (Gaekaward O. Series) also lends his support to the view of Prof. Upadhye as he has observed in his introduction. "उदाहरदिदं पद्य' पाठान्तरेण हेमचन्द्रचार्य्यः "संता भोगा" etc.and किञ्चित् पाठान्तरेण प्रादर्शयदिदं पद्यं हेमचन्द्राचार्य्यः 'जिण्मिन्दिउ" etc.[11] Prof. Ludwig Alsdorf, who contradicted the view of Prof. Hiralal Jain, contradicts Prof. Upadhye too. In his observations on the stanza IV. 389. 1. of Hemacandra he says "This stanza too, appears (as No. 170) in the *Paramātma-prakāśa* of Yogindradeva. As with reference to 427. 1. here too, there cannot be any doubt that we find it in a recast form in the text of Yogindradeva."[12] Though the argument of Prof. Alsdorf debars us from jumping into a hasty conclusion, we feel convinced that the *Paramātma-prakāśa* is the source from which Hemacandra borrowed the stanzas. The latter could not neglect, on the contrary fully utilised the rich and extensive literature in Apab. which existed long before him. Besides those stanzas which the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra have in

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[8] *Paramātma-prakāśa,*—introduction, p. 46.

[9] *Ibid*

[10] *Introduction to Paramātma-prakāśa,* p. 64.

[11] P. 103.

[12] Auch diese strophe steht (also Nr. 170) in Yogindradeva's *Paramātma-prakāśa,* Ebenso wie bei 427, (oben S. 53) kann es hier nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass wir es mit eimer Umdichtung Y.s zu tun haben." *Apabhraṃśa studien,* p. 64

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common with the *Paramātma-prakāśa*, aptly suit in cotext in the latter and give a satisfactory meaning. Hence we agree completely with Prof. Upadhye who made a close investigation into the Apab. language and literature.

Two verses of Hemacandra are quoted in the Sanskrit rhetorical work the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* which contains a collection of heterogeneous verses and as such cannot be in any case accepted as the source of the former. Of these two one is quoted verbatim and the other shows some remakable changes possibly due to the errors of the scribe, who being interested more in the science of rhetorics took little interest in the text of the stanza. It stands as

एक्कहिं अक्खिहिं सावणु अरणहिं भद्दवउ
माहउ महिअल-सत्थरि गराडत्थले सरउ ।
अङ्गिहिं गिम्म-सुहच्छि तिलवणि मग्गसिरु
तहे मुद्धहे मुहपङ्कहं आवासिअ सिसिरु ॥

Sar. II. 76. Kāvyamāla Hem. IV. 357. 2.

[Trans.: The month of श्रावण has settled in one eye of the fair lady, while the month of भाद्रपद in another; on her couch the spring (as the bed was made of tender leaves); on her cheeks the autumn; on her limbs the summer; and in the field of sesamum of सुखासिका (sitting at ease) मार्गशीर्ष; the winter on her lotus-like face].

The other which appears in the *Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, III. 62. as

सा उप्पडी गोट्टडहि णोक्खी कापि विसगराठी ।
भिडिय पचेल्लिउ सो मरइ ज्जस्स ण लग्गइ कण्ठि ॥

[Trans.: In the locality of the cowherds she has been a fresh विषग्रन्हि he dies on the contrary, to whom she does not cling] is represented in Hem. IV. 420. 3. as

साव-सलोणी गोरडी नवखी क वि विसगण्ठि ।
भडु चलिउ सो मरइ जासु न लग्गइ कण्ठि ॥

[Trans.: The fair-maid is all beautiful like fresh विषग्रन्थि (a poisonous bulb called वचनाग) the young man (भटः) however, would die if she does not embrace him].

It is quite evident that the verse of Hemacandra is undoubtedly more explicit than that of Bhojadeva, the author of the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. The version of the latter is cumbrous and the word भिडिय which is the rendered into Sanskrit as भिद्यते does not fit in well with the construction of the verse. The annotator cleverly avoids the word as he says "अत्रायं विषग्रन्थिर्यस्य कण्ठे न लगति स म्रियते इत्येतयोः परस्परमसङ्गतेरयमसङ्गतिर्नाम विरोधः। णोक्खी अपूर्व्वा। कावि विसगण्ठि कापि विषग्रन्थिः। रोमाञ्चादयः स्त्रियाम् इति स्त्रीलिङ्गता। पचेल्लिउ प्रत्युत। विषग्रन्थेः कण्ठसंबन्धेन मारकत्वं प्रतीतम्। वर्ण्यमानाया रुपस्य तथाभूतयैवेति व्यक्तः विरोधः।"(p. 341) Kāvyamālā edition. As little reflection shows that भड्ड of Hemacandra which stand for Skt. भटः gives a better meaning and the ignorance of the scribe is solely responsible for such obvious mistakes in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. It should be incidentally mentioned that the rhetoricians and also their scribes in their endeavours to give expositions of their theories, cared more for the Skt. text and took no notice of the reading of the Pkt. and Apab. stanzas which they embodied in their works. The fact that maintaining of a better reading in Hemacandra and the reverse condition in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* should not necessarily lead one to believe that Hemacandra originally composed those two stanzas and Bhojadeva borrowed from him. There is no scope for such an assumption as Bhojadeva is earlier than Hemacandra who quotes the former sometimes in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*. As regards the date of Bhojadeva, we can accept the statement of Prof. S. K. De who says "But all this will justify us in fixing Bhoja's date with and he may have lived into the third quarter of the same century."[13] part of the first and the whole of the second quarter of the 11th century and he may have lived into the third quarter of the same century."[15] So the natural conclusion to which we can unhesitatingly reach, is that both Bhojadeva and Hemacandra borrowed from some unknown source and as Hemacandra was himself a Jain and a lover of the Pkt. and Apab. dialects he tried his best to maintain the correct readings in his text.

In the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka* of Abdul Rahman, a Muslim poet of the Western India, one verse of Hemacandra occurs with slight modifications. The work is composed in a late Apabhraṃśa, which shows some admixture of later vernacular forms and the metres used there are noticeable in the early vernacular poems also. Before we enter into further discussion, we quote the verse and show the differences between them. In the *Saṁdeśa-rāsaka*, II occurs.

जसु पवसंत ण पवसिआ मुइअ विओइ ण जासु।
लज्जिज्जउ संदेसडउ दिंती पहिअ पिआसु॥

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13 *History of Sanskrit poetics*, p. 147.

[Trans.: Moreover I am ashamed to send the message because neither I accompanied him, when he left, nor did I die during his separation]. The same appears in Hemacandra IV. 419. 3. as

जउ पवसन्तें सहुँ न गअ न मुअ वित्तए तस्सु ।
लज्जिज्जइ संदेसडा दिन्तोहिं सुहअ-जणस्सु ॥

[Trans.: In as much I did not accompany him when he went on his journey, nor did I die in his absence, I am ashamed to send messages to my lover].

The probable date of the *Saṃdeśa-rāsaka* has been discussed by Muni Jinavijayaji, the editor of the work. Muniji concludes that the work was composed probably during the reign of Siddharāja or Kumārapāla i.e. in the latter half of the 12th century or the first-half of the 13th century.[14] It is to be noted here that the date synchronises approximately with that of the Pkt. grammar, which was composed by Hemacandra during the life-time of Siddharāja (reigning between 1093 and 1143 A.D.). Though Hemacandra and Abdul Rahman—the author of the *Saṃdeśa-rāsaka*, were nearly of the same period, it is certain that the former was earlier than the latter. It is a fact that after the death of Kumārapāla and before the rise of the Muslim power in Delhi and all over Northern India, the kingdom of Gujarat and other important business centres like Multan and Cambay of the Western India, sustained decay and ruin, from which they were not restored to their former glory.[15] As the glimpses of the lost glory of these places are observed in the *Saṃdeśa-rāsaka*, it can be said to be later than the Pkt. grammar of Hemacandra. The occurrence of the newly-developed vernacular forms in the *Saṃdeśa-rāsaka* and their absence in the Apabhraṃśa stanzas of Hemacandra also point to the same conclusion. So, we may state that Hemacandra did not borrow from the *Saṃdeśa-rāsaka* the stanza which his grammar had in common with the *Rāsaka* poem; on the contrary; it may be true that Abdul Rahman who flourished shortly after Hemacandra and had a great possibility of coming under the brilliant sunshine of the latter's far-reaching influences, borrowed the stanza from the Pkt. grammar that obtained a great popularity and wide circulation within a very short period.

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[14] "From all these I infer that *Saṃdeśa-rāsaka* must have been composed during the reign of Siddharāja or Kumārapāla i.e. in the latter-half of the 12th century or at the latest, the first half of the 13th century of the Vikrama era"—*Introduction to Saṃdeśa-rāsaka*, p. 13.

[15] Vide *ibid.*, p. 15.

In conclusion we must say that in some cases, the influence of other works on Hemacandra is unmistakably recognised, but in others, the similarity of expressions, the exposition of the same sentiments in identical manner, may be otherwise explained, which nevertheless deserves more than a passing observation. Even from the very early times of Skt. renaissance the attempts of the minor poets to compose verses in imitation of the poems of the great, gave rise to various repetitions of some noted thoughts, ideas, fancies and imaginations. These repetitions and compositions in imitation of others were so frequent that soon the original introducers of such thoughts and ideas were forgotten and these became the property of all, who felt no scruple whatsoever in freely drawing upon them in their own compositions. So, as a result of this enterprise it is quite likely that some kind of similarity became manifest in the compositions of the poets of different times with reference to whom no question of direct borrowal could arise. These repetitions of thoughts and ideas are solely responsible for the origin of some poetic conventions, which have been observed by all the native rhetoricians. Much importance was laid in the later days on these poetic conventions, which were carefully studied and even committed to memory by the young and ambitious poets. These were, again, quite indispensable for those who wanted to gain the credit of being extempore versifiers. So, Prof. Keith is possibly correct in his statement:—"Another fact of importance in the development of Sanskrit literary taste was the fondness for the composition of poetry extempore or at least on a given theme with the least possible delay. This device might easily lead to undue regard for a complete and ready command of conventions, enabling the poet to turn out verses with the greatest possible speed. The praise bestowed on the quick-writing poet Sighra kavi to us must seem exaggerated, but the existence of the feeling is clearly attested."[16] This fact explains, in a large number of cases, the similarity of thoughts, ideas and expressions existing in the stanzas of the poets of the different times and this will certainly go a step further to explain the apparent similarity occurring between the stanzas of Hemacandra and those of the other poets referred to above.

SIBENDRANATH GHOSAL

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[16] *Hist. of Skt. literature*, p. 344.

Dispute between Court Cutcherry and Mayor's Court, Calcutta

The Charter of 1726 empowered the Mayor's Court to exercise civil jurisdiction over European as well as native residents of Calcutta. The subjection of the natives to the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, however, gave rise to many inconveniences and in the year 1753, the Director of the Hon'ble Company at the moment of issuing a fresh charter thought it advisable to limit the power of the Mayor's Court in respect of the natives. Accordingly the Charter of 1753 expressly excepted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court all suits and actions between Indian natives only, and directed that these suits and actions should be determined among themselves, unless both parties submitted them to the determination of the Mayor's Court. The power of that Court with regard to the natives is best illustrated by the following passage:—

"When the Hon'ble the Mayor's Court sat by virtue of the former charter (Charter of 1726), all causes of Meum and Tuum between natives and natives were cognisable by them. The new charter (Charter of 1753) absolutely restrains the Court from receiving complaints of property subsisting between the natives unless the party give free consent that such their disputes should be heard and determined in that Court."[1]

It was hoped that by this exclusion, the natives would be left in peaceful enjoyment of their peculiar laws and customs and would no longer be subjected to a law of the intricacies of which they were naturally ignorant. The prerogative Court on the other hand would have fewer complications the like of which frequently cropped up, during previous years, when the Indian natives in large numbers frequented the precincts of the Court to seek its protection. The over-zealous members of the Court could not view with equanimity the new enactment that limited the Court's power and jurisdiction. They pointed out that, as the natives would be compelled to decide disputes among themselves or to apply to the Zemindar's Court where they could expect little justice, they would cease to live under the protection of the Company and consequently

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[1] Consultation at Fort William, 25th September 1755—statement made by Roger Drake and Manningham a member of the Council thereof.

Calcutta would be reduced in no time to a fishing town. This would mean "the overthrow of His Majesty's most gracious intention of transmitting the benefit of the laws of England to His most distant subjects."[2] These sentiments are very commendable, yet in reality the Court's members cared little for the maxim that 'justice be done' and were alarmed at the prospect of being deprived of the power that they freely exercised to the oppression of the natives.

Whatever may be the contention of the judge of the Mayor's Court, the provisions of the Charter were found wanting in two respects. Firstly, with regard to causes of action between the natives and other residents (viz., Europeans, Armenians and Fringys) of Calcutta, a question seemed pertinent as to whether the Mayor's Court could take cognisance of such suits and actions. The Charter was not clear on this point. Secondly, apart from the Europeans, Armenians and Portuguese, there were within the settlement of Fort William, Indian Christians who were vulgarly called Fringys. The Charter left undecided the question whether these Fringys should be placed under the category of Indian natives, and as such should be excluded from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court. The oversight on the part of the authors of the Charter in these two respects became, as would presently be seen, a fruitful source of conflict between the Mayor's Court and the Zemindar.

In order to understand better the true nature and significance of the dispute over jurisdiction between the Mayor's Court and the Court Cutcherry, a clear idea of the judicial powers of the Zemindar and the authority from which they were derived is necessary. By virtue of the letters patent granted by Prince Azimu-sh-shan in 1698 the English Company attained the status of the Zemindar of the three towns of Calcutta, Sutanuti and Govindpur and as such it managed the lands and exercised jurisdiction over the native inhabitants. It appears that an officer of the Company collected the revenues and sat as a judge of the Court Cutcherry, established in 1704, over cases where natives only were concerned. "The Court of Cutcherry," says Ferminger, "was a judicature which at least in the ideas of the English derived its authority from the Mughal empire and it was a jurisdiction to which Mughal's natural subjects as such were subjects."[3] We find an account of the powers and functions of the Zemindar in Holwell's India Tracts, wherein the author observes, "The Zemindar acts in double capacity distinct and independent of each other; the one as superintendent and collector of revenues, the other as the judge of the Court Cutcherry a tribunal constituted for the hearing, trying and determining a'l matters and things both civil and criminal wherein the natives only subjects of the Mughal were concerned. In all causes of property an appeal lay to the President and Council."[4] The Council tried to limit his sole jurisdiction by establishing a Saturday Court which however did not meet regularly. Hence bulk of the cases where the natives were concerned continued to be tried by the Zemindar till the year 1726 when the Mayor's Court with civil jurisdiction over a'l the residents of Calcutta was established. The Zemindar, however, did not cease to exist as a civil judge over the natives of Calcutta. The Hindu and Moslem residents of the town could still take their cases to the Court Cutcherry. But the number of cases submitted to his determination decreased. This is apparent from a complaint of the Zemindar in 1732 that the revenues of the Cutcherry had considerably diminished.[5] Perhaps the Indian natives began to prefer the elaborate proceeding by bill and answer of the Mayor's Court to the summary trial that obtained in the Court Cutcherry. During the first twenty five years' of its existence, there is no reported case of clash of a very pronounced nature between the Mayor's Court and the Zemindar. Curiously enough the causes that could have led to such a clash were there. The Charter of 1726 did not terminate the civil jurisdiction of the Zemindar over the natives, nor did it specify which of the two courts (Mayor's Court and the Court Cutcherry) would be the court of first instance. Both of them possessed, so far as the natives of Calcutta were concerned, concurrent jurisdiction in civil matters. The reason seems to be that as the head of the Cutcherry was fluctuating by rotation, no Zemindar before Holwell considered it his duty to safeguard the judicial powers and privileges of his office.

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[2] Mayor's Court Proceedings—Range C.L.V. vol. 28.

[3] Firminger, Fifth Report, p. lxxiii.

Zephaniah Holwell accepted the office of the Zemindar in January 1752 on condition that he should not be removed from the post without the express orders from home.[6] For the carrying of certain reforms which he deemed necessary, Holwell maintained that the head of the Cutcherry should be fixed and not fluctuating. He pointed out to the Council that the income of the Cutcherry had diminished owing to the falling off in the number of suits of the natives that were formerly used to be filed there, and as its judge Holwell determined to resist any infringement of his power by the Mayor's Court. It must be noted that the new charter (1753) took away the jurisdiction that the Mayor's Court had previously exercised concurrent with that of the Zemindar, and allowed it to take cognisance of only those suits of Indian natives that were submitted to its determination by mutual consent of the parties.

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[4] Holwell—India Tracts, pp. 176-179, Bolts' "Considerations" vol. I, p. 81.

[5] C. R. Wilson—Old Fort William, vol. I, p. 136.

The charter was not yet a few months old when the first clash occurred. It appears from the complaint of the Mayor's Court to the Court of Directors, 1st March 1754 that a suit between Soodasubdoss and Gopaul Budder, inhabitants of Calcutta was filed in the said court. It was presumably filed with the consent of both the parties. Holwell most probably at the instance of Gopaul Budder decreed the suit and caused Soodasubdoss to be imprisoned. The Mayor's Court asked the Zemindar to release Soodasubdoss and on his refusal to do so applied to the Council for the release of the prisoner and for orders on Holwell that in future he should recede from such practices. It is obvious that the Zemindar acted illegally and arbitrarily in trying and determining a cause of action that was pending in the Mayor's Court and in refusing to release Soodasubdoss. The President and Council, curiously enough, appear to have done nothing in the matter.[7]

The next clash occurred in 1755. In that year one Demontaguy and his wife Phoebe laid a complaint in the Cutcherry against Phoebe's mother Sarah Shadow, a black Fringy, setting forth that the latter had refused to deliver to the former a pair of diamond ear-rings, a golden headed cane, 18 gold buttons and a silver cup and salver. Sarah Shadow admitted that those articles were kept in her custody for the use of a child of Phoebe by her former husband but alleged that they were left with her by Phoebe as the latter was not certain about the intentions of her present husband Demontaguy.[8] As there was no written obligation given by Phoebe, the Zemindar decreed the matter and ordered restitution of the same to the complainants. But as the articles were

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[6] Holwell—India Tracts, pp. 176-179.

[7] Mayor's Court Proceedings—Range C. L. V. vol. 28. See also p. 61.

[8] See page 13, footnote no. 10.

property of the child, a confession to that effect was wrought from both the parties. Sarah Shadow thereby was left with sufficient matter to make an application with the Mayor's Court for the security of the minor. Nevertheless, Sarah, considering herself adversely affected by the verdict filed a bill of complaint in the Mayor's Court to the effect that the Zemindar had no jurisdiction in the cause of action and that she deemed herself to be robbed of the goods that were the property of a minor.[9] Thereupon the Mayor's Court served a citation upon Holwell to appear before them and produce the things. Holwell obeyed the citation but that under a protest. That he could be held accountable for what he did in his judicial capacity by the Mayor's Court was beyond his comprehension. In a letter to the President and Council he wrote, "It had ever been the practice of the Cutcherry to receive the complaints from Europeans against the natives and from Fringy against a Fringy. Records of the Cutcherry are pregnant with instances of both kinds."[10] Thus his decreeing the suit of Sarah Shadow was in no way an infringement of the powers of the Mayor's Court. Holwell further pointed out that behind this citation was a secret desire to strike at and subvert the jurisdiction of the Cutcherry in matters Meum Tuum, and humbly requested the President and Council to exercise their powers to stop all proceeding against him in the Mayor's Court.

This dispute over jurisdiction grew out of a mischief done by Attorney Dumbleton who drafted the bill for Sarah Shadow. He deliberately left out of the bill any reference to the decree passed by the Zemindar. For this he was severely reprimanded and was threatened with deportation to England. The judges of the Mayor's Court, however, in a letter to the Board took the plea that as an information had been lodged in that Court by the bill of complaint of Sarah Shadow, evidently it was the duty of the Court to take cognisance of it and to endeavour to give relief, if any to the plaintiff. They stated that they had no knowledge of the existence of such an officer as the Zemindar and maintained that in the absence of a properly constituted court apart from the Mayor's Court, the latter was competent to take cognisance of all matters in Meum Tuum concerning all the inhabitants of the

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[9] Bengal Past and Present, vol. X, pp. 123-145. Letters of Holwell and the Mayor's Court.

[10] *Ibid.*

Town of Calcutta. This was the very travesty of truth, for the Court Cutcherry as a court of justice for the natives deriving its authority from the Moghul Government had been in existence for more than half a century. Their ignorance, the judges averred, was due to the fact that the Charter did not mention any such officer as the Zemindar. In other words, they refused to take judicial notice of anything that the Charter did not refer to.

The Mayor's Court, however, acted irregularly in serving a citation upon the Zemindar. The Zemindar was amenable to the President and Council for all acts and omissions done by him in his judicial capacity. Granting that he exceeded his power in taking cognisance of the case in dispute, the President and Council and not the Mayor's Court were the proper authority to judge whether the Zemindar had acted in excess of his power. The bill of complaint filed by Sarah Shadow, however, contained no reference to the decree passed by Holwell. On the contrary the bill was drafted in such a manner as to give the judges every reason to suppose that Holwell had extorted the articles from the complainant and they acted within their power in summoning Holwell to the court to deliver the same. Strict compliance with the rules of procedure, does not make the proceedings regular, if circumstances bearing upon the case are ignored. The judges knew that Holwell held a responsible post under the Company and were fully apprised of the fact that the suit had been decreed in the Court Cutcherry. The tenor of the letters written by the Mayor's Court testifies to this.[11] The case ought to have been submitted to the President and Council. Most probably, the judges were not sure that their prayer would not go unheeded. The case of Soodasubdoss was still fresh in their minds.

The President and Council, in their letter to the Mayor's Court, asserted that they were the proper persons whom the Mayor's Court, ought to have informed about any dispute with the Zemindar and ordered that the citation be recalled and all further proceedings thereon be stopped. The Zemindar on the other hand was ordered not to take cognisance of suits between Europeans, Fringys and Armenians unless he was referred to as arbitrator by consent of both parties.

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[11] Bengal Past and Present, vol. X, pp. 123-145—Mayor's Court Records published by Firminger.

The decision of the Board only touched a part of the question. It left much to be desired. It negatively gave the Mayor's Court exclusive jurisdiction over Europeans, Armenians and Fringys by excepting them from the jurisdiction of the Zemindar. In respect of the suits between the natives and others, things were left as they were. Only the Zemindar's jurisdiction in such cases was recognised. It was all very well to hope that the Zemindar and the judges of the Mayor's Court would by mutual understanding and goodwill, amicably settle all disputes that might arise between them. But in view of the attitude of both the parties which was anything but friendly, the possibility of such a hope being materialised was remote.

Further, the Board quite consistent with the opinion of the Court of Directors placed the Fringys as a class apart from the natives. The Court of Directors observed, "under the head Indian Natives we meant to include the several persons and sects (*viz*. Brahmins, Guzzerats, right and left Gentoos and Moors) in whose names the before mentioned petition had been presented, and we are of opinion that the Mayor's Court may hold plea in suits between any persons; though born in India who do not fall within this description."[12] Accordingly it was stated at a consultation at Fort William 25th Sept. 1755, "By Natives are undoubtedly meant Gentoos and Mussulmen who were excluded from application to the Mayor's Court in dispute between themselves except by mutual consent and can therefore only obtain relief by complaint to the Zemindar or by arbitration of indifferent people." This was done notwithstanding the remark of Holwell, "By Fringy I mean all the black Mustee Portuguese christians, residing in the settlement as a people distinct from the natural and proper subjects of Portugal and as a people who sprang originally from Hindus and Mussalmen and so by the Laws of Nations Canott by their conversion to christianity be excepted from their Allegiance to the Moghull." The logic of this argument is irresistible. Indeed it is by no means clear, according to what juristic principles these Mustee Portuguese (Portuguese mestico meaning mixed) were relieved of their allegiance to the Moghul government and brought under the protection of the Laws of England; and Sarah Shadow, a Cowra or Hurry by caste, springing from the lowest stratum of Hindu Society, was recognised as one among the Europeans and other

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[12] Long—"Selections" vol. I, No. 179.

"Itenerants" simply because she had married in quick succession three Europeans,—one German and two British. The plea of ex-territoriality could be claimed in respect of the British and other Europeans but in no case, the Fringys who were originally subjects of the Moghul, could be exempted from their allegiance to the native government. The East India Company were deliberately trying to oust the jurisdiction of the native government over persons who resided within their settlements. In doing so, they created an anomalous position, for they were assuming a sovereignty that was legally vested in the Moghul. Hence it was extremely difficult to define the respective powers and jurisdictions of the prerogative courts and the Court of the Zemindar—a judicature which at least theoretically derived its authority from the Moghul.

Apart from the judicial interests of the case, the dispute is notorious as it led to a grand contest between the Zemindar, the Council and the Mayor's Court at a time when the position of the Company in Bengal had considerably been weakened due to maladministration. We get a graphic account of the tussle in the letter of Mr. William Tooke wherein he wrote, "The dispute became extremely hott, and the Zemindar engaged the Council in his quarrell as judges of the power, the Company had thought proper to invest him with, for the increase of their revenues which caused many severe and reflecting letters to be wrote, on both sides and as no one could judge after that how far the Zemindar would extend his power it alarmed everyone; and Mr. Plaisted a member of the Court by being a little more plain and vigorous in standing up for the priviledge of his Court was aimed at by the Board as an example to the rest and was accordingly ordered to Europe by the first ship. The affair was soon after compromised by referring the whole to the Company."[13]

It was indeed a bitter and acrimonious wrangling for power between the two courts wherein mutual hatred and jealousies coloured the views of both the parties. Almost everybody at Fort William was jealous of the unlimited powers wielded by the Zemindar and the judges of the Mayor's Court were no exception. Already they were resentful at the loss of their power over the natives, and when they found that the Zemindar was exercising a jurisdiction that properly belonged to them, they determined to put an end once for all to such an encroachment. The filing of the bill by Sarah Shadow gave them the opportunity and they pounced upon it, as it were, to teach the Zemindar a lesson. In their letter to the Court of Directors, they alluded to the fact that Holwell had threatened to destroy them with the help of the Board, and realising that the proceedings would appear irregular, they made a ridiculous attempt to take shelter behind the charter. The absence of any reference to the decree passed by Holwell was the only point in their favour. Holwell's case, however, was within the law; but he assumed a power that was strictly not his.[14] Since its inception the Court Cutcherry was mainly a court for the natives and if it tired suits between Europeans, Armenians and Fringys, it did that on sufferance. For, originally, it was the President and Council who took cognisance of cases concerning the servants of the Company and their dependants and this power was delegated to the Mayor's Court by the Charter of 1726 which constituted the President and Council a Court of Appeal. Holwell tried to solicit the sympathy and support of the Council by asserting that if the Mayor's Court be not restrained from proceeding in an extra judicial manner against the Zemindar, the power and prestige of that officer would be injuriously affected resulting in a heavy loss for the Company in revenues.

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[13] Hill—Bengal in 1756-1757, vol. I, p. 273-274. This William Tooke died sometime in March—1757—Public Proceedings 1757, p. 65.

The Council, unlike the two disputants, never allowed itself to be a prey to vulgar emotions, except perhaps in the case of Bartholomew Plaisted whom they ordered to return to England by the first available ship. It might be that Plaisted's attitude was too unparliamentary to be tolerated.[15] The Council however did not pass any mandatory orders on the Zemindar. Probably commercial interests stood in the way. This shows that their attitude was not wholly impartial.

Tarit K. Mukherji

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[14] Public General Letters from the Court of Directors 1755-1756, p. 143.
The Directors observed that the proper method for Holwell was to appoint a guardian who might if necessary have brought a bill in the Mayor's Court and Holwell and the party would then have made their defence.

[15] Narrative of the capture of Calcutta by William Tooke—Bengal in 1756-1757, vol. I, p. 274.

Economic Condition of India in 1774-77

(from the Journal of Modave)

The Count of Modave was one of those French adventurers of fortune who came to India as to a land of promise in the latter half of the 18th century. The four years of his stay in India were a chequered period during which misfortune seems to have dogged his footsteps. Arriving at Balasore in a royal ship called the Etoile on the 2nd October 1773 he spent 11 months in Bengal living for the most part in Chandernagore or in Calcutta.[1] He next proceeded in search of a career to Lucknow where he gained the favour of Shuja-ud-doulah but the sudden death of the Nawab blasted his hope and set him again on his wanderings. He recommended himself to the kind attention of his brilliant compatriot Réné Madec whom he met at Agra and it was as the protégé of the latter that he received a warm welcome and warmer assurances from the Emperor of Delhi. Realising before long the hollowness of such assurances and pursued by jealous intrigues of some Frenchmen in the camp of Madec he resumed his adventurous journey, fraught with dangers and hardship, to the court of Bassalet Jang at Adoni where he was offered a humble appointment at Rs. 600/- per month. He met his death at Masulipattam on the 24th December 1777 as the result of a sudden illness on his way to Pondicherry.[2] Besides a collection of his letters preserved in the Archive of Pondicherry he left a remarkable "Journal of (his) voyage from Bengal to Delhi"[3] giving a detailed account of his impressions and information about North India. A soldier by profession, his primary interest was military and political, but he has enriched his journal with an account of the commerce in his days, which even if it professes to be not very exhaustive, is much fuller and better informed than that of many similar memoirs.

In Bengal, where Modave spent about a year, he is struck by the indolence of the people as their inherent quality. It was to him an indubitable fact even if some explanation of this habit might be found in hot climate, the richness of soil exacting less labour and in the state of insecurity consequent on the prolonged absence of a strong government. The people however distinguished themselves in sedentary arts which demanded "a work more assiduous than painful." He found this habitual idleness of the Bengalis illustrated also in their failure to improve upon the abundant gifts of nature. The Ganges offered greater natural advantages than the Nile; but unlike the Egyptians, the Bengalis had done little to augment its rich potentialities." With the exception of a very limited number of canals indicated by extreme necessity, the people of Bengal have left things much as it pleased God to create them." It also appeared very significant to Modave that throughout the whole stretch of the country he did not find almost any great work devoted to public utility "while the coast of Coromondal, which compared to Bengal is a miserable country, and the rest of India abounded in caravan *serais*, tanks excavated at enormous expense, temples and similar religious or charitable establishments." The French traveller was shocked at the smallness of size of the temples in Bengal and the bad taste displayed in their construction, but he was nevertheless profoundly impressed by the rites and ceremonies which appeared to him as more religious than what he had found anywhere else in India. The villages and towns equally presented a depressing contrast to the real opulence of the country. One found all around him ugly mud-built houses with bamboo tops thatched with straw. Towns presented a few brick edifices but their number was extremely limited.

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[1] Letter of Modave—No. 283 in the Archive of Pondicherry.

[2] Document No 289 in the Archive of Pondicherry.

[3] I have depended on the copy of this lengthy journal in the possession of the eminent historian Sir Jadunath Sarkar, as the original of this document exists in the Archive de la France d'Outre-Mer at Paris.

Wars and internal revolution which had kept Bengal in turmoil for a century, had left their grim vestiges. The desolating effect was more felt in the region where the Europeans had been established. West-Bengal though less exposed to ravages of internal disturbances suffered from the raids of the Marhattas and pillages of petty Rajas but the respect which the English arms had recently inspired, had a salutary effect in restoring cultivation and manufactures to their original strength. The southern and the eastern portions of the country had suffered least from past disturbances and Dacca still produced the finest and largest amount of muslin.

Bengal (comprising Behar) was extremely rich in natural products, and had an incredibly large number of factories for the production of silk and muslim. "Part of India subsisted on this beautiful country from which it imported rice, oil, butter, sugar and other necessary provisions. Bengal imported from the rest of India salt and cotton, for which the demand was always steady and prodigious."

The trade of Bengal was not confined to India alone. It was still the centre of the largest amount of commerce in Asia. "All the European nations trading in India visit the Ganges. Even the Spaniards from the Philippines and the Portuguese of Macao and Goa, send every year a few petty ship to Calcutta, It is towards the end of October that almost all the trading vessels are assembled in the Ganges and the greatest proportion is anchored at Calcutta." It was difficult to thread one's way without danger through the "forest of boats," numbering at least 500 which cumbered the access to the 'Ghats' at Calcutta. A very small number of these was bound for Europe and these did not cover any very appreciable portion of the commerce of Bengal. The largest outlet for the commerce of Bengal lay along the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. "Rice, sugar, confectioneries, and a large quantity of edibles are carried to Bassora, with cloth and muslin which are sent as far as Syria & Mesopotamia. Arabia, Egypt and the two parts of Turkey received by the Red Sea an incredible quantity of muslin and other textiles manufactured in Bengal." "In exchange, Bengal imported various commodities for the need of her inhabitants as well as for manufacture. For her people she had the need of importing cotton thread which came from the Coromandel coast and from Orissa. But she did not consume the entire quantity she imported. The inhabitants of the hilly regions to the north, east and west came to buy these things at Patna, so that this foreign commodity proved profitable for the internal trade of Bengal. Besides, cotton was imported to Bengal by way of Surat and from the Malabar coast and however large the quantity of this import, it was always sure of a ready market."

Silk also constituted an item of no mean significance in the trade of Bengal, though it was neither very good in quality nor very abundant in its supply. Some silk stuff was produced at Cassimbazar but the major part of the produce was transported in bales to Europe in English, French or Dutch vessels or to Japan in Dutch vessels only.

The bulk of Bengal trade was constituted of saltpetre, opium herbs for dyeing and above all, its far famed muslin. Of these saltpetre, which was of the finest quality known to the Europeans, and opium were drawn from Patna and its neighbourhood.

Bengal rice was, in the opinion of Modave, the finest in India and was sent to remote places. The upper regions produced wheat sufficiently in excess to supply the needs of the Europeans in the Coromandel coast. The famine of 1770 which was due partly to an unlimited export of foodstuff is estimated to have cost 2 million lives and in 1773-1777 Modave still came across skulls and human remains scattered here and there.

Next to Calcutta which was the grandest entrepot of commerce, was Patna, noted for its trade in saltpetre and opium. It had also a great market where the merchandises of Europe were brought by people of the North coming by boat along the Gandak. Proceeding on his journey from Patna to Persia, Modave found the cultivation of cotton, mustard, tea, palma christi, pea, beans, small grains and a variety of shrub which in the Isle de France was called Ambervat. Cattle also was numerous and he was struck with a singular phenomenon that all the cows and bulls he came across were of extremely white colour. At Sultanpur the fields were well cultivated with indigo, sugarcane "ambervat" and all forms of grain. At Tehaora he noted an abundance of cattle, particularly pigs. The place was also noted for the manufacture of a form of cloth which was highly esteemed in Bengal. At Faizabad, the foreign traveller is amused to find the streets converted to stables in the night where cows, buffaloes, elephants and camels were tied up pell-mell. The market displayed variety of products—cloth, white and of various colours, carpets, pottery, grains, meat, fruits and fodder for camels. Lucknow also had an extensive trade in fine clothes which were in demand in Bengal and in sugar which was locally produced in large quantity. This sugar was as white and refined as that found in the French islands in America but it lacked similar fragrance. Agra and Delhi had fallen away considerably from their old importance in trade as a result of the decline in the grandeur of the Moghul court. But still in both the towns were manufactured rich stuff woven with gold and silver threads, and white and dyed clothes. Agra was also noted for its manufacture of arms like swords, lances, tips of arrows, coat of mail, helmets and military harness composed of small chains of steel very artistically interlinked. The art of incrusting precious stones on gold, silver or alabaster was still practised in Agra with marvellous skill.

Besides, Agra was rich also in natural products. Its indigo was reputed as the best in the world. It produced various plants used for dyeing, and also cotton in sufficient quantity to be exported after having met the needs of local manufacture. Agra sugar was as refined as that of Lucknow; saltpetre was found in abundance and was used for gunpowder as well as for cooling "Sherbats." The fragrant rice of Agra was held in high esteem because of its scanty supply. Wheat, grains and "Ambervats" were produced abundantly. In old days when Delhi still retained its imperial splendour it had brisk trade with the west and the east. From Surat were imported all forms of stuff on which gold, and silver threads could be woven, rugs and other products of Europe and coffee from Arabia. It took 46 days for the transport of merchandises on camels or on carts. Transport charges were much lower from Bengal, because of the riparian routes provided by the Ganges and the Jamuna. From Bengal were imported besides the products of Bengal, the merchandises of Europe, silk from China, spices from Malacca, cinnamon from Ceylon, and textiles from the Coromandel and Orissa coasts. Surat had direct trade relations with Bengal by sea. It derived large profit from the virtual monopoly of the transport of Muslim pilgrims to Jedda. The population of Surat during its days of opulence is estimated to have been 12 lacs. Modave found that in his times Guzerat had partially revived its commerce which had been previously in decline. It produced silk and cotton stuff mixed with gold and silver threads and various other products which were in great demand by the Persians, Arabs, and the Turks of Asia Minor. Along the Persian coast the peaceful Guzerati merchant was a familiar figure and was commonly called "Banian." Modave also encountered merchants from Guzerat all over India, particularly in the Coromandel coast and in Bengal.

Kashmir was celebrated for its shawls which were sold in India at a price ranging between Rs. 25 and Rs. 200/- "Nothing can be compared with these in fineness and beauty and we have nothing of European manufacture to equal them." Kashmir also sent a large quantity of fruits and some form of rugs which seemed thick at sight but which was very soft and yielding to the touch like finely manufactured beaver caps.

Beside a regional account of trade, the Journal also records some interesting observations on several items of trade and incidental topics. Thus we are told that India's trade with the Northern countries consisted chiefly in fresh and dried fruits, horses, camels, sheep and wool. Fresh fruits such as grapes, pomegranate and pears came from Kabul and Kashmir. Pistachios were consumed all the year round, and came for the most part from Persia, though a smaller species of the same was imported from Kabul. India also imported plums, apricots, walnuts and grapes.

Melons came from Persia and Samarkhand and the Persian variety could be conserved for 5 or 6 months.

The Kabul merchants brought their merchandise in carefully packed boxes on camels and arrived in Delhi at the beginning of winter. They came as far as Faizabad.

A limited number of sheep were brought from Khorasan and Kabul but the transport was difficult because of the worms which attacked their enormous tails.

Horse formed an important object of trade and was imported from Persia, Turkistan, Kandahar and Samarkhand. The Turkish horses were of heavy built and capable of bearing fatigue, while the Persian variety was noted for its charming figure. The two types of horses both cost Rs. 300 to Rs. 400/-. In Lahore there were studs for breeding a mixed type combining the qualities of both. There was a variety of horse in common use called "Tetau" and it cost something between Rs. 15/- and Rs. 50/-. The camels also were sold in India and the best variety came from Persia and Tata-Bakar where they were so abundant that they could be bought at Rs. 25/- only.

Salt was neither dear nor rare though most parts of India were away from the sea. India had besides her own salt-mines. A thing which surprised the French traveller exceedingly was that inspite of having a large supply of grapes, India did not manufacture any wine. The Madeira wine used to be imported before by way of Surat by English and Dutch merchants. A local variety of wine known as Arrack was manufactured with sugar alcohol. It was pungent and had a very bad taste. It was largely consumed by the lower classes "whose drunkenness contrasted with the natural sobriety of the nation." Tobacco was very much popular and "men, women and children smoked from morning till night." The habit of taking opium must have been a besetting vice, for Modave visited "hardly a town of some importance which had not around it a poppy field for supplying the inhabitants with the much prized commodity."

An ugly feature of India's trade was the widely prevalent traffic in women in big towns. In Delhi and certain other great cities there were depots where one had a large choice of these unfortunate victims of Muslim incontinence. The bargain was completed by filing up certain papers with the police. The virginity of a girl was sometimes sold by her mother 3 or 4 years in advance. These girls were procured mostly from Delhi and its environs and the rest were drawn from Kashmir, Multan, and the Punjab." "Merchants dealt with this human commodity as complacently as they sold tobacco or slippers."

The decline in the magnificence of the Delhi Court was reflected in the deplorable state of neglect in which the roads had fallen. Delhi had been previously the centre where the arterial roads of trade converged. But in the days of Modave these roads were hardly maintained. They presented an appearance of being traced out by the crowd of travellers rather than being kept up by the care of the Government. Of the grand imperial road which Akbar had constructed from Agra to Delhi and extended later to Lahore, the portion between Agra and Delhi had ceased to exist, and Modave doubted if the portion between Delhi and Lahore still remained. Such roads as still remained were infested with brigands and swindlers. Brigands ranged themselves in bands on foot or on horseback to raise their black-mailing levies on travellers and sometimes on a whole village. Modave had the misfortune of encountering both these types. The swindlers used to slip by night into a caravan or even into tents and then made off with whatever they could lay hands on. The respect inspired by the European arms procured larger immunity to European travellers. Indian merchants always preferred to follow the train of the European for better security. During his first voyage to Delhi, Modave's slender troupe swelled in this way to a caravan of 400 to 500 in two days, and these importunate companions followed him assiduously till they were in sight of Delhi, when this group melted away unceremoniously without even exchanging a courtesy with Modave.

Indigenuous banking was well organised by the Sowcars whose activity embraced a variety of transactions. They undertook the transport of commodities from any part of India to another, and inspite of the insecurity of the roads, "they arranged for the sending of goods wherever required, with absolute safety." Only in the case of the transport of camels and elephants they showed some reluctance; but with these two exceptions, they dealt with everything else with great facility. Insurance, particularly against accidents of voyage, was within the purview of the 'Sowcars.' Money lending was carried on "as a monstrous form of usury which was, in a way, natural in India" and the minimum rate of interest was 24% per annum. This exorbitant rate was partly the result of the rapacity of administrative officers, to which the bankers were constantly exposed. This rapacity, it may be noted in passing, was in Modave's view, a general characteristic of Moslem administration, while "the subjects of the Hindu princes were in many respects in happier or at least more supportable condition." Most of the bankers were Hindus and though big Muslim merchants were not unknown; their number was so limited "that one can say that banking and commerce are in the hands of the Hindus."

R. C. Mitra

Chitor and Ala-ud-Din Khalji

On Rawal Samar Singh's death in 1302 A.D., his son Ratan Singh[1] became the ruler of Mewar then regarded as the premier state of Rajputana. Its capital Chitor, strongly fortified by nature, was regarded as impregnable and the political prestige of the kingdom was fully recognised by the Delhi monarchs who considered it to be a source of danger to the young Muslim empire.[2] Very early all other vanquished Rajput clans fully respected and appreciated the valour and sacrifice that the Mewar princes displayed in maintaining themselves against the repeated attacks of the Sultans and styled them as '*Hindua-Suraj.*' Under its brave defenders like Jaitra Singh and Samar Singh the kingdom continued to grow in power and prestige till we pass over to another grand event in the vicissitudes of this house in the year 1303 A.D. when the capital city Chitor, 'the repository' of all that was precious yet untouched, was stormed, sacked and treated with remorseless barbarity by Khalji Sultan Ala-ud-din of Delhi.

1. *Traditional Story about Padmini*

The history of this fateful year has become very complicated because of its associations with many stories of heroism and tragedy, more of romance than of history that cluster around it. There exist no contemporary or later reliable Rajput records to throw clear light on the details of this great event and much of the information continued to be preserved only through oral traditions and folk songs. The story as has generally been believed in Rajputana runs that Ratan Singh married Padmini a Cauhan princess of incomparable beauty and talents. Ala-ud-din Khalji having heard of the charms of this princes and lured to

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[1] The old controversy about the identification of Rawal Ratan Singh who is mentioned as Bhim Singh by Tod and many other writers has been discussed threadbare from all points of view. Col. Tod is mistaken in taking the famous Padmini to be the consort of Bhim Singh or even in holding Rana Laxman Singh as the ruler of Mewar, who in fact was Rawal Ratan Singh's Samant (feudal chief) at Sisoda and one of the principal defenders of Chitor on the eve of Ala-ud-din's siege thereof. See *Kumbhalgarh Prasasti, vs.* 176-180.

[2] Amir Khusru, the court chronicler of Ala-ud-din writes in his work 'Dewal Rani':—"There (at Chitor) also was a Rai with a large army, who to speak the truth, was the most exalted of all the Hindu rulers."

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Chitor both by his lust for conquest and pining for Padmini laid siege to it. The Rajputs bravely defended themselves and the Sultan wearied at length with a long and fruitless siege opened negotiations requesting that he might be permitted for once to see fair Padmini only through the medium of a mirror. His request being granted, Ala-ud-din entered the fort, satisfied his desire and left the place. The Raja, who out of courtesy came to see him off beyond the gates, was betrayed into captivity and was offered his freedom on the ransom of his beautiful queen. No greater challenge to the Rajput honour could have been given. But the resourcefulness of the Rani and the bravery of her relations, Gora and Badal, came to the rescue. The Rajputs, by going near the place of Raja's confinement in the Muslim camp under the pretext of being the maidens of Padmini's train, managed to free him. Ratan Singh escaped on a horse and returned to Chitor, while his warriors including Gora and Badal covered his retreat. After a desperate fight the few of the Rajputs succeeded in regaining the fortress. The losses of Ala-ud-din in this were so great that in despair he raised the siege. This was the occasion to which the Hindu historians allude when they say that Chitor was once half sacked; for, although it was not actually taken, the flower of Rajput chivalry perished. The Sultan thus baffled, ordered for another attack and a general massacre of the Hindus. The place was held out for about six months, Rawal Ratan was slain and the defeat became inevitable. The Sultan raised a semi-detached hill Chitori by artificial means 'commencing with a piece of copper for every basket full of earth and at length ending with a piece of gold' and from that point stormed the fort. A legend represents Rana Laxman Singh to continue the defence operations for some days more till he fell fighting along with seven of his brave sons. The fort was at last captured though Padmini, along with other women, inside, perished in fire performing the usual rite of Jauhar which preceded the last desperate efforts of the defenders to repel the invaders.[3]

None of the Rajput and Muhammadan writers of the 14th and 15th centuries refer to Padmini and Sultan's lust for her or to Raja's treacherous arrest and rescue by that 'horse of Troy' type device. Nor do they say anything about the second siege and the Jauhar. This has led the modern writers[4] to reject the whole of the traditional story about

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[3] Tod: *Annals & Anti. of Rajasthan*, vol. I, p. 304-11; Ram Nath Ratnu: *Itihas Rajasthan* (Hindi); Ojha: *Hist. of Rajputana*, vol. 2, pp. 486-95.

Padmini as 'a myth of allegorical nature and a literary concoction' set afloat for the first time by Malik Muhammad Jayasi, a Padmavat poet of the 16th century in his epic the 'Padmavat.'[5] They believe that the story of Jayasi which is an admixture of romance, adventure and tragedy ending with the self immolation of the queen has been taken as authentic by most of the later historian including Ferishta,[6] Abul Fazl[7] and Hajib-uddabir[8] as well as by Col. Tod[9] who have only incorporated with little variations the same story in its fictitious minuteness in their accounts of famous Padmini and hence the tradition deserves no credence.

2. *Ala-ud-din's aim in attacking Chitor*

It will, therefore, be far more incorrect to believe on the basis of these works and legends that Ala-ud-din's chief aim in invading Mewar was to obtain possession of Padmini, the peerless beauty for his own harem. Before judging things about him one should not forget that Ala-ud-din by nature was a cruel and implacable despot, an ambitious realist and an imperialist of the first order, who clearly analysed the dangers and difficulties of his time and throughout his reign he was busy guarding against them. To a strong ruler as Ala ud din an independent Rajputana in the very neighbourhood of Delhi threatening the very existence of the Muslim empire was always an eye sore. For such a mighty conqueror of the whole of India, Mewar could not be an exception. The Rajputs, next to the Mongols, were his formidable enemies and it was but natural for the Sultan to take up arms against them in order to put an end to their political powers. With a view to annexing the independent Hindu kingdom of the country, he directed all his expeditions whether on Rajputana, on Gujrat or into the Deccan. Thus

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[4] Ojha: *Hist. of Rajasthan,* vol. II, p. 495; Mr. Haldar: *IA.,* vol. 59 pp. 235-39; K. S. Lal: Nagpur University Hist. S. Bulletin No. 1 Oct. 1946. Most of the modern writers on Indian History doubt the authenticity of this traditional story.

[5] *Padmavat* ed. by Pt. Ramcandar Sukla, N. P. Publication.

[6] Brigg's *Ferishta,* vol. I, pp. 362-63. Lucknow text p. 115; Brigg's translation is defective at a number of places. Dr. Habib's rendering of it in 'Campaigns of Ala-ud-din Khalji' is more reliable.

[7] *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's Trans.) vol. II, p. 269.

[8] Hajibuddabir: Zafar ul Walih bi Muzaffar Alih: (Ross & Denison) London.

[9] Tod: *Annals & Anti. of Rajasthan,* vol. I, pp. 304-11.

the invasion of Chitor can also be accounted for by Ala ud-din's eagerness to play the cruel game of war with the Guhilots who stood in his way to the conquest of the Deccan and who had already challenged the imperial armies in 1299 A.D. when Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Shah passed through this region on their way to Gujrat. It was, therefore, not due to the Sultan's infatuation for Padmini, but for these political reasons primarily that Ala-ud-din, after the fall of Ranthambhor, determined to conquer Mewar. It is for this reason most probably that all the Persian works[10] composed prior to Jayasi are quite silent about the whole of the Padmini affair and attach no other motives but political to this expedition of the Sultan on Chitor. They all dispose of the account of this invasion in a few lines agreeing unanimously that the Raja fled but afterwards surrendered and the government of Chitor was bestowed upon his son prince Khizar Khan. These contain not a single reference to Padmini or to Raja's treacherous arrest and his romantic escape. Nor do they refer to the second siege and Jauhar so commonly referred to by the later bardic annals and so popularly believed and talked of in Rajputana.

3. *The surrender of Chitor : according to Amir Khusru*

Just a few months after his accession to the throne of Mewar, Rawal Ratan Singh had to face this great calamity in which was involved the question of his own life and the honour and prestige of his house. "On Monday, the 8th Jamadius Sani, 702 A.H.," writes Hazarat Amir Khusru in *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, "the conqueror of the world resolved on the conquest of Chitor, ordered his high-sounding drums to be beaten. The crescent banner was moved forward from Delhi.........and the sound of the drum reached the bowl of the sky and conveyed to it the good news of the Emperor's determination. Finally, the confines of Chitor were reached. The Imperial pavilion of which the clouds may be considered the lining, was pitched up in that territory between two rivers, rendered fordable by the dust raised by the feet of the troops. The two wings of the army were ordered to pitch their tents one after the other on the two sides of the fort."[11]

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[10] Amir Khusru: *Tarikh-i-Alai* (E.D. vol. III, p. 76-77); *Khazain-ul-Futuh* (Dr. Habib's Trans. pp. 47-49. Zia Barani: *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* (E.D. vol. 3 p. 189).

[11] Habib: Trans. of *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, p. 47. The Julian equivalent is 28th

This passage from Khusru's work provides the exact date of Sultan's march from Delhi to Chitor but he had not given the details of his route[12] and the number of his troops[13] and these two questions, therefore, admit of no easy solution.

The army having surrounded the fort on two sides, fighting commenced. *Khazain-ul-Futuh* informs, "For two months the flood of the swords went up to the waist of the hill but could not rise any higher. Wonderful was the fort, which even hail stones were unable to strike! For if the flood itself rushes from the summit, it will take a full day to reach the foot of the hill." These wordings clearly declare that for two months the assault (swords in hand) proved of no avail and the Sultan practically attained no success because the strong walls and the height of the hill made the citadel quite impregnable. But still it lay in Ala-ud-din's power to knock down the fort with his 'Maghrabis' or the war engines though he refrained from the step of destroying the fortifications, for he wanted to capture the fort intact. At last being foiled in his preli-

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January 1303. It was Monday—See S. H. Hodivala: *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 250.

[12] Most probably the Imperial troops for the first stages of its march followed the road going through the regions of Bharatpur and Biana or that leading to Dholpur *via* Agra. Starting from Dholpur instead of going further south-east on the same road used for the Deccan expeditions, they must have taken the road which these days forms the tract of the railway line joining Biana with Swai Madhopur, i.e. Ranthambhor which fort the Sultan conquered in 1302. From Ranthambhor, a few days march along the course of river Chambal brought them to Bundi and thence to Mandalgarh, the conquest of the fort is also locally attributed to the Sultan. From here the confines of Chitor were reached after a few days march. This route, the shortest one for Chitor and involving the crossing of river Chambal only at one point must have been preferred to all others.

[13] On the basis of some vague data supplied by Afif and others it can be inferred that in normal times the Sultan of the 14th century used to keep at least one lac of cavalry directly under their command mustered and paid by Ariz's office whereas the nobles of the empire maintained their contingents separately and were obliged to join the imperial forces whenever so directed by the Sultan. Presuming that Ala-ud-din introduced his military reforms after the year 1303 A.D. and made a considerable increase in his standing army as well as making provisions that a vast number of it must have been stationed on the North-West Frontier to check the Mongols, it can be held that on this expedition to Chitor the Sultan's personal army and that of his subordinate nobles could in no case be less than fifty to sixty thousand horses and a number of infantry and elephants in all about a lac of troops.

minary attacks, he took recourse to the device of bombarding the walls by the strokes of the 'maghrabi' stone. The *Khazain-ul-Futuh* further informs, "On a hill, named Chatarwari, the emperor raised his white canopy every day like the sun and as is the custom of rulers, attended to the administration of the army. He ordered the eastern Wrestlers (Pahalwans) to draw the western (maghrabis). Other warriors began to place heavy stones in the 'arm' (Palla) of the maghrabis[14]………".

The above lines are quite in conformity with the tradition prevalent in Rajputana that expresses Ala ud-din's determination to raise a huge pile of earth on the hillock Chittori, read as Chatarwari in *Khazain-ul-Futuh,* so that his destructive engines of war (the Maghrabi) might hurl their message of death into the doomed city. As he was immensely rich, he could afford to pay in gold for every basket brought to raise the pile. During the whole of the long and hot season swarms of labourers carried an endless succession of baskets of earth to the chosen spot; and little by little the pile rose higher and higher till at last it overtops the rocky ramparts of the fort. This sand hill raised by the Sultan's men is still pointed out to the visitors of the place at the southern end by the name of 'Mor Magari.'

It was during these very days that it came to the Sultan's ears that among Raja's women there was one Padmini, a lady exceedingly fair, and he became anxious to possess her for himself. It is of course true that purely political considerations goaded the emperor to undertake this expedition on Chitor and while at Delhi he might not have heard anything about Padmini prior to this moment; but that in the course of the siege he heard about Padmini's beauty and wished to obtain her is a truth. That such a lust was not altogether strange or new in his character is obvious from the fact that even on a previous occasion after the conquest of Gujrat when Karan Baghela's consort Kamalavati was captured, the Sultan admitted her into his seraglio. And again after some time when her daughter Dawal Devi also fell into the Muslim hands, she was married to prince Khizar Khan. Thus it should not at all surprise one to find the Sultan restless somehow to possess Padmini, the renowned beauty. Though Amir Khusru, who was present on the very scene of action, has not made any direct mention of Padmini or of Sultan's lust for her, in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* yet the following lines of his and the allusion used by him therein contain a veiled but clear hint to this fact. He writes, "The army of Soloman dealt strokes like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba. On Monday, 11, Muharram A.H. 703,[15] the Solomon of the age, seated on his aerial throne, went into the fort, to which birds were unable to fly. The servant (Amir Khusru), who is the bird of the Solomon, was also with him. They cried, 'Hudhud! Hudhud!' repeatedly. But I would not return, for I feared Sultan's wrath in case he inquired, 'How is it I see not Hudhud, or is he among the absentees?' And what would be my excuse for my absence if he asked, 'Bring to me a clear plea?' If the emperor says in his anger, 'I will chastise him, how can the poor bird have strength enough to bear it?"

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[14] Habib: *The Campaigns of Ala-ud-din Khalji,* p. 48.

This refers to the well known story in the *Quran*[16] in which 'Hudhud' is the bird that brings news of Balquis, Queen of Seba to Solomon, the king of the Jews who lured by the talents and beauty of the queen attacked her land. It leaves no reasonable doubt to assert, as the learned translator of the work also remarks in the footnote that 'the famous Padmini is apparently responsible for the allusion to Solomon's Seba.' The very spirit of this passage reveals to a critical reader the underlying motive of the author who, with all his limitations, is anxious to leave some definite hint for the fact that Padmini's beauty and name did attract the attention of the Sultan who in his eagerness to capture her made like Solomon's for the queen of Seba, a vigorous attack on the fort. This contemporary, through veiled reference to Padmini, leaves no ground for disbelieving the bardic accounts of the famous Padmini which though exaggerated at points are fully corroborated in Amir Khusru's lines quoted above. Modern scholars, therefore, are not correct when they reject or even doubt these traditional facts about Padmini and the Sultan's lust for her. In fact Jayasi's tale of Padmavat and Ferishta's account of Padmini, though fabricated and imaginary at places, which are based on some old traditions built on real facts to a great extent are confirmed when an accurate official chronicler like Amir Khusru knowingly compares Ala-ud-din with Solomon and refers to the queen of Seba in his description of this invasion which cannot be bereft of some meaning and significance. It may not even be too much to say that Malik Muhammad Jayasi must have got the bases for writing his great allegorico-historical poem 'Padmavat' in 1540 A.D. from Amir Khusru's writings in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* which he seems to have read and made use of in framing the plot of his story in which also the 'Parrot' plays an important rôle like the 'Hudhud' of Amir Khusru's allusion.

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[15] Muharram 703 A.H. (Hisabi) correspond to Sunday 25th August 1303 A.D. Khusru seems to have again given the Ruyyat date, and if Monday is right, the exact Julian correspondence must be 26th August 1303. (See S. H. Hodivala: *Studies in Indo-Muslim Hist.*, p. 250).

[16] *Quran*, chapt. XXVII, Sec. 2.

In the meanwhile the defenders were not idle and the Rai rushed out of the gate to resist the Muslim onrush but while fighting, he fell into the hands of the enemy who detained him in the camp. The exact wordings for this in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* are, "It was the rainy season when the cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill.. The Rai struck with lightning of the emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate as fire springs out of stone, he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightening of the sword........ Surely he would not have been safe from the lightening of the arrow and the sword, if he had not come, to the door of the royal pavilion." In *Tarikh-i-Alai,* his other work, Khusru says, "The Raja fled but afterwards surrendered himself." This makes one quite certain that Ratan Singh came out of the gate to fight the invaders was somehow overpowered and imprisoned in one of the tents of the royal camp on the plain below.

The Rajput version of the story says that in arresting the Raja, Ala-ud-din took recourse to treachery. Posing to stop all hostility, he along with a few followers went inside the fort for negotiations and the brave Rajputs, true and frank in their dealings, entertained the royal guest. The Raja, suspecting no evil intentions, came to see him off out of the gates with little precautions where the Sultan's men in ambush attacked him and succeeded in capturing him. Amir Khusru's lines give no direct support to this part of the story but two of his sentences quoted above, namely, "........the Solomon of the age (i.e. Ala-ud-din) seated on his aerial throne went into the fort, to which birds were unable to fly. The servant (Amir Khusru) was also with him;" and the second, "It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summmit of the high hill," both written even before his mentioning the fight with the Rai and his defeat and surrender and his not mentioning any other details about the Raja's defeat and arrest, make one feel that the Sultan went inside the fort with Amir Khusru and others and on return treacherously arrested the Rai, which facts Khusru expresses in his own way in the above sentences. He seems to be knowingly turning his eyes from these facts for fear of the Sultan who would not have liked the mention of the treachery employed by him. Perhaps, Khusru intentionally gave the date of the final conquest of Chitor (11 Muharram, 703 A.H.) here so that the Sultan might not detect the reality behind the lines of the author. But for these developments in the course of the siege Raja's arrest made so easily without much fighting otherwise remains unaccounted for. Such treacherous tactics have also been attributed to him by the writers of the past (see Hamir Mahākāvya) in his conquest of Ranthambhor which fort he could capture by bribing some of Hamir Cauhan's officials.

These historic facts, handed over from generation to generation about Sultan's going inside the fort and his arresting the Raja treacherously provided Jayasi with an opportunity to stretch his imagination to the extent of fabricating that part of his tale which deals with the Sultan's entertainment inside the fort and seeing Padmini accidentally through the medium of mirror and of carrying the Raja as prisoner to Delhi where he remained confined for many years. These imaginary details made current by Jayasi's 'Padmavat' afterwards, were taken as true and it was presumed that the avowed aim of Sultan's visit to the fort was to have fo once the vision of the fair Padmini for which the Rajputs agreed as a condition of his retreat from Chitor. Col. Tod and Abul Fazl in *Akbar Namah,* though not in *Ain-i-Akbari,* maintain that the Raja and his men intentionally arranged so to gratify the wish of the Sultan. But 'how could the Rajputs brook this indelible stain upon their national honour' is a thing to be explained. Moreover, Ferishta, who had taken his facts more from oral tradition than from Jayasi's tale is altogether silent on this mirror episode, nor do the bards refer to it. Hence it is most reasonable to assert that this incident was purely a creation of Jayasi, who purposely added it to create an occasion for him to depict his philosophical notions about the vision of God invoked by the Sufis as the 'Beloved.'

It is most probable to hold that having got assurances of friendship from the Sultan, the Rajputs, chivalrous and generous in extreme might not have objected to his paying a complementary visit to the fort for friendly negotiations. Otherwise neither the Rajputs could have ever agreed to the Sultan's unnatural demand of showing the Rani nor would the Sultan have dared to risk his own person by going inside the fort thinly guarded especially on such an offending and insulting mission for the Rajputs.

The mirror episode, therefore, is purely Jayasi's concoction; the rest of the story about Raja's arrest in that treacherous manner and imprisonment in the royal camp on the plain below, of course not in Delhi, is worthy of all credence. Jayasi utilized the memories of these historical facts in his own poetic fashion.

Anyway, the Raja's arrest and detention in the Muslim camp caused despair to reign in Chitor. The local annals further say that in the absence of the Raja the charge of the defence operations was assumed by Laxman Singh, the Rana of Sisoda and head of the younger branch of the Mewar Guhilots. He along with his brave and grown up sons and other Rajput warriors considered no sacrifice and risk beyond their capabilities to save the land of their birth and somehow to free their chief, whose release was made conditional to Padmini's surrender. The situation was debated and at last the plan of sending to the imperial camp armed men in curtained litters 1600 (or 700 according to other versions) in number as female companions of the Rani was conceived and worked upon. Under the cover of making a parting interview with the Raja, the Rajputs managed for his escape on a fleet horse reserved for the purpose. Ratan Singh was able to ascend the fort at whose outer gate the host of Ala-ud-din, who ordered the pursuit, were encountered. The Rajput warriors including Gora and his twelve year old nephew Badal animated by the sentiments of their chief's deliverance and the queen's honour devoted themselves to destruction. The bravery of Gora and Badal, the two Cauhan chiefs on this occasion, the wounded Badal's spirited conversation with his aunt on the uncle's glorious end in the fight and her performing Sati after her lord—are topics that have been preserved and immortalised by the bards in their prose and poetic compositions. These could not have been all based upon Jayasi's work a very late composition so much as on the traditional facts from which even Jayasi himself borrowed for his great epic. It is really difficult to reject the incident of Raja's liberation in that romantic manner as purely of Jayasi's invention. Ferishta differing from Jayasi on many vital points of the story also seems to have derived his information from some older traditions which were popularly known to the people then as even now.

That fighting continued even after the Raja's surrender and arrest and that some attempt to rescue him was made with success seems to be historically true and one can discern an indirect confirmation of these facts in Amir Khusru's silence about the ultimate fate of the captive Rai. It is really surprising to find that Khusru mentions the capture and surrender of the Raja but makes not a single reference either to his death or liberation. On the contrary, quite in keeping with the traditional story he writes such sentences as make one to infer that even after the Raja's surrender, fighting continued and the Sultan had to wage a fresh struggle against the other Rajput chiefs who seem to have incurred his displeasure quite probably by deceiving him and escaping with the Raja. He writes, "On the day the yellow-faced Rai sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the green swords, the great emperor (may his prosperity continue) was still crimson with rage. But when he saw the vegetarian Rai trembling with fear, like the trampled and withered grass under the imperial tent,—though the Rai was a rebel, yet the breeze of royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon him. All the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels. He ordered that wherever a green Hindu was found he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order thirty thousand Hindus were slain in one day."

These remarks in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* reveal that other Rajput nobles including Gora, Badal, Laxman Singh and his sons etc. succeeded in rescuing the Raja and so the Sultan got enraged and ordered a fresh attack and a general massacre of the Hindus. Raja Ratan Singh and most of his brave followers were slain. The story has it that Rana Laxman Singh who had nine (some say eleven) sons[17] beheld in a lurid dream Vyān Mata, the protecting Goddess of his race. 'I am hungry,' she wailed, 'I am hungry for the blood of kings. Let me drink the blood of seven of these who have worn the diadem and city may yet be saved.' Accordingly the sons of the Rana were successively raised to the throne; and every one of them sallied forth at the head of a little band of heroic followers and laid down his life for the sake of the beloved city. But when the turn of his youngest son came, the Rana's courage failed him; he could not bring himself to sacrifice the last representative of his family and so after allowing him to make his escape to Kailwara in safety, he offered himself to be sacrificed as the last victim.

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[17] The name of his nine sons as yet ascertained are Ari Singh, Abhaisi, Nar Singh, Kukkar, Makad, Ojad, Pethad, Ajaisi, and Anatsi. Of these seven fell fighting at Chitor and Anatsi who was married at Jalor met his death there when the Muslims attacked that place. Only Ajaisi, the youngest was allowed to escape to Kailwara to save the line from being extinct. Nansi says that Laxman Singh was killed at Chitor with twelve of his sons.

We may take this story as a fiction born of some poet's mind or the scene (having conjured) to animate the spirit of resistance. But this much, of course, is undoubtedly true that Rana Laxman Singh and his sons fell fighting for Chitor after Ratan Singh's death, for the fact is mentioned in the Kumbhalgarh Prasasti of the year 1460 A.D. and the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya*. In the inevitability of defeat at last, the frightful rite of 'Jauhar' was performed. The funeral pyre was lit in a great subterranean vault[18] and a big procession of women walked to their doom with dry eyes and smiling lips. The Queen and servant maids, old dames and little girls, the whole womanhood of Chitor turned their backs upon the pleasant light of day and marched into the darkness to find security from dishonour into the devouring element. After the door had been closed upon the women of Chitor, the Rana and the surviving warriors put on the saffron-robe and opening wide the city gates issued forth and fought till at last covered with wounds they fell surrounded by their wounded and dying foes. The Jauhar, according to the Hindu traditions, was performed on Bhadrapada Sudi 14, 1360 V.S. i.e. 26th August, 1303 A.D. It was on this fateful day that thirty thousand Hindus, as Khusru also informs, were killed and Ala-ud-din was finally victorious. He entered the fort to sieze the spoils and to obtain Padmini, but he found an 'inanimate city' strewed with brave defenders, the smoke yet coming from the recesses where lay consumed the fairest ladies of the royal family including Padmini 'more delicate than the lotus.'

It is really too much to expect from a writer of Ala-ud-din's court as Amir Khusru to mention clearly anything about these further developments. The cause of Sultan's wrath upon the other rebels and his issuing a stern order to cut down all the Hindus are factors that go to suggest that the Rajput version about Rana Laxman Singh's brave resistance and successful attempt of Gora and Badal at rescuing the Raja are based on facts. In a very clever way Amir Khusru has hinted at these facts in his silence about the Raja's fate and activities after his arrest and by stating that the Sultan was 'still crimson with rage.' He knowingly omitted these details for they go against the fair name of the Sultan who was so grossly disappointed in his ambitions of capturing Padmini who preferred to end her life in flames to her surrender to the Muslim invader.

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[18] The place, where Jauhar was performed seems to have been elsewhere and not in this subterranean vault as is popularly believed. This is perhaps an underground passage for the Ranis to go to the Gaumukha reservoir. The Jauhar was performed either in the open space known as 'Cogan' or somewhere behind the palace of Kumbha.

It was this last but desperate fight of the Hindus that had been misrepresented by Jayasi, Tod and others as the second siege of Chitor. But we have seen that all the contemporary accounts clearly express that Ala-ud-din led only one expedition on Chitor and after six months of fight was able to occupy it. The tradition of the second siege was definitely set afloat by Jaysi who twisted the events for his poetic and philosophical purpose by leaving a gap of a few years between the Raja's arrest and detention at Delhi and his last fight after his rescue. In fact, neither the Raja was carried to Delhi nor the Sultan came for a second time to take revenge upon him for his escape in that unusual manner. It is indeed a misconception by the later historians to accept Jayasi's imaginary story of the second siege as true against the reliable contemporary accounts of the Persian histories and chronological considerations about the Sultan's activities. In the literary sense of the term, the six months of military operations at Chitor should be termed as a 'war' in the course of which more than one 'battle' were fought. Ferishta again has made no mention of any such second invasion by the imperial forces which in fact was never attempted.

Thus, on 26, August, 1303 A.D. the celebrated capital of the Guhilots fell for the first time into the Muslim hands. The Sultan in rage destroyed the buildings and temples within the fortress, sparing only the palace of Padmini and the Jain tower and having committed every act of barbarity and dilapidation which a bigoted zeal could suggest, he entrusted the administration of the place to Prince Khizar Khan, re-christened it as Khizerabad and returned to Delhi which facts Amir Khusru clearly states in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* and his other works.

This critical examination of Amir Khusru's lines in *Khazain-ul-Futuh* makes it quite evident that the Mewar traditions about Padmini, Sultan's lust for her, Raja's treacherous arrest and his liberation by the armed Rajputs in litters and Rana Laxman Singh's desperate fight culminating in their heroic death and the dreadful rite of Jauhar is historically true and need not be rejected as a mere poetic fancy. Mr. Haldar and Dr. K. S. Lal, the latest writers on the subject have not examined the various accounts and, therefore, should not be accepted as conclusive when they regard the story as a wholesale adoption of Jayasi's *Padmavat*. Of course, the mirror episode, Raja's confinement at Delhi and the assertions about the second siege are false being incorporated later on in the story from Jayasi's tale, otherwise the rest of the traditional story is worth all credence. The discrepancies in the accounts of Jayasi, Ferishta and Col. Tod also militate against the theory of the wholesale rejection of the story. If it were a mere literary concoction, it is required to show how the plot of *Padmavat* from which much has been eliminated by the bards gained such a wide currency in Rajputana; or how Hajib ud-dabir, who did not copy *Ferishta* could have utilized the *Padmavat* when he refers to this incident with variations of details for he wrote his history in Gujrat in Akbar's time where Jayasi's work could not have been so well-known till then at least. The royal house of Udaipur instead of correcting the error, which certainly implied a slur on its honour, treasured the memories of Padmini and accepted the tradition. Dr. Ishwari Prasad is quite correct when he argues that 'there is nothing improbable in Ala-ud din's getting enamoured of the Mewar Queen and the latter's attempt to release her husband from the clutches of an unchivalrous enemy, and her grim resolve to sacrifice herself and her fair tribe inside the fortress when there was no hope of escape.' Our analysis of Khusru's description of this expedition confirms the hypothesis of the learned scholar and we are now in a position to say that for most part the tradition about Padmini and Ala-ud-din is correct and not a myth.

4. *Khizar Khan's Governorship of Mewar*

Ferishta[19] while dealing with the later history of Chitor mentions that the Sultan in 704 A.H. or 1303 A.D. i.e. in the very next year of its acquisition took the fort from Khizar Khan, and bestowed it upon the Raja's sister's son 'Kariz Rai' who remained all his life a tributary and sent him presents. But neither the date of the Prince's recall nor the name 'Kariz Rai' is correct. By a curious mistake he has given this

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19 Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 362-63.

name instead of the correct one of Maldeva Songara of Jalor, who in fact received the charge of the Chitor territories after Khizar Khan. Moreover, there are convincing evidences to show that Khizar Khan's governorship of Mewar lasted for at least ten years during which period the prince resided at Chitor and got a massive bridge constructed on the river Gambhiri and a 'Maqbara' outside Chitor which bears an inscription in praise of the Sultan, his father, of the date 11th May 1312 A.D.[20] This establishes the contention that at least till the year 1312 A.D. Chitor was not given to Maldeva. Elsewhere Ferishta[21] also conveys the impression that in the year 711 A.H. or 1311-1312 A.D. Malik Kafur on his way to Deccan intended to visit Chitor to meet the Crown Prince. Moreover Nansi[22] mentions in his 'Khyat' that in the year 1311 A.D. Kamaluddin, the imperial general captured the fort of Jalor from the hands of Songara Kanarde or Kanhara Deva who fell fighting with his son Viram Deva. But his brother Maldeva with his sons who were saved to preserve the line became outlaws and began plundering the territories that now passed into the Sultan's possessions. Thus embarrassed, the Sultan to reconcile Maldeva enlisted him as his vassal by bestowing on him the kingdom of Chitor but in no case earlier than the year 1311 A.D. the date of the Sultan's conquest of Jalor.

Meanwhile the news of Sultan's failing health gave a signal for revolt. Rebellions and sedition spread far and wide and his very palace became the hot bed of intrigues. The rising of Harpal Deva of Deogiri and the news from Chitor of the Rajputs hurling down the Muslim officers from the fort walls soon after Khizar Khan's departure, so shocked and enraged the Sultan, sick of dropsy that his disease was aggravated and consequently in the midst of these disorders on 22nd December, 1316 A.D. he died, his end being hastened, it is said, by poison given to him by his favourite Kafur.

From these facts it can be inferred that Khizar Khan must have been recalled from Chitor not earlier than the year *c.* 1313 and on his departure the Rajputs attempted to recover the citadel, which in accordance with the demands of political expediency, was at last handed over to Maldeva Songara of Jalor, who was somehow to be reconciled. Khizar Khan perhaps remained more worried about Delhi politics than his duty at Chitor, where the Rajput population that retired into the hills was always ready to throw off the Muslim yoke and though these refractory areas were entrusted to Maldeva, the Guhilots, undaunted in spirit, under the leadership of Rana Hamir, a grandson of Laxman Singh remained a source of constant trouble to the Songara governor.

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[20] The Chitor Maqbara inscription of Hijri 709, 10 Zilhizz, Ojha: *Hist of Rajasthan*, vol. II, p. 497.

[21] Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 378-79.

[22] Nansi's *Chronicle* leaf 49, p. 2; *Ferishta* gives the date of Jalor conquest as 1309 A.D.

5. *The Songara hold of Chitor*

Maldeva within a short time obtained an effective control of Chitor and kept a large garrison there. Ferishta informs that 'he sent annually large sums of money besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot.' To him is attributed locally the construction of 'Mal Burj' at Chitor a massive bastion with chambers under it midway between the Chittori Burj and Mori tank in the western rampart, which was probably destroyed in the siege operations of 1303. According to Nansi[23] he continued to retain possession of the fort for seven years till his death in 1321 A.D., by which time the rule of the Khaljis came to an end and the revolution at Delhi enabled Ghazi Malik (afterwards Sultan Gyasuddin Tughlaq) to capture the throne for himself and his dynasty.

The discovery of a fragmentary inscription[24] in Persian at Chitor of the time of this Tughlaq Sultan who ruled from 1320 to 1325 A.D. containing sentences in praise of the Sultan and one Asat-ud-din, his nephew, whom according to *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*[25] the Sultan just after his accession appointed as Naib Vazir, establishes the contention that during Ghiyasuddin's reign, Mewar remained under Muslim subjection with Maldeva and after him his son and successor Jaisa or Jai Singh as the Governors, Col. Tod and Kaviraj Shyamal Das in 'Vir Vinod' also mention of this hold of the Chitor territories by the Songara Cauhans and further assert that Maldeva's daughter was married to Rana Hamir Sisoda who at last succeeded in recapturing the citadel of Chitor from them. On the basis of these remarks the late Dr. Ojha believed, but of course without substantial grounds, that Hamir recovered Chitor from the Songaras in the regime of Maldeva's son Jaisa just after the year 1325 A.D. and got rid of the Tughlaq yoke by defeating at Singoli an imperial army sent to the succur of Jaisa by Muhammad Tughlaq in the very first year of his reign. This assertion of the late Doctor requires correction.

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[23] Nansi's *Chronicle* leaf 44, p. 2 to leaf 45, p. 1. The statement in *Rajasthan Gazetteer* that the fort remained in possession of the Muhammadans up to the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (1325-1351) who appointed Maldeva Songara, the chief of Jalor, as its governor is entirely incorrect. See Ishawari Prasad's *Hist. of the Qarannah Turks,* p. 26.

[24] The inscription is preserved at Victoria Hall, Udaipur. It reads as follows: —

'Tughlaq Shah Badshah, the lord of the country, throne, signet and crown like Solomon; world illuminator like Sun, may the shadow of God, the greatest of all the kings............Asad āl Din Arslan by whom become strong.........He died on 3rd Jummada 1. May God accept this act of charity and He reward him for his righteous motives a thousand times more.' (First line of each verse is missing). See Ojha: *Hist. of Rajasthan,* vol. II, p. 501; Ishwari Prasad: *Hist. of Qarannah Turks,* p. 58.

Maldeva had three sons namely, Jaisa, Kirtipal, and Banbir, of whom Jaisa being the eldest became ruler at Chitor after his father's demise in 1321 A.D. No account of Kirtipal is available to us in any of the local annals. But the fact that Banbir, the third of Maldeva's sons also ruled at Chitor for a considerable number of years with Maharajadhiraj as his title is beyond all doubts now proved by the finding of an inscription still unpublished on a Jain temple at Kareda[26] (now Bhopalsagar). This inscription dated 'Paus Sudi 7 Sunday V.S. 1392 i.e. 23rd September, 1335 A.D. clearly mentions that in the reign of Banbir, son of Maldeva, some of his 'Silhadars' or military officers—Mahammad Deva, Suhad Singh Caundra got erected a dome. This makes it quite evident that Rana Hamir of Sisodia could recover Chitor from Banbir[27].

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[25] *E.* and *D.* vol. III, p. 230.

[26] Puran Candra Nahar: *Jain Lekha Sangraha* (Hindi), pt. II, p. 242 The original text runs as follows:—

'संवत् १३८२ पौष सुदि ८रवौ श्रीचित्तकुटस्थाने महाराजाभिराज पृथ्वीचन्द्र श्रीमालदेव पुत्र श्रीवणवीर सत्कं सिलहदार महमददेव सुहडसिंह चंउडरासत्क' पुत्र दियं गतं तस्य सत्कं गोमह कारापितं ॥

[27] The fact that Hamir captured Chitor from Banbir after defeating him in an engagement at Sojat is also confirmed by its mention in a Khyat entitled 'उदयपुर रीख्यात नैपुरकरबातं' preserved at the Anup Sanskrit Ms. library,

in some year after 1335 A.D., the date of this record and not just after 1325 A.D. in Jaisa's time as Dr. Ojha maintains.

The story of this recovery of Mewar by Hamir, interesting and inspiring as it is, will be described along with the details of this young Guhilot hero's early career and other exploits elsewhere. Here it is enough for our purpose to note that a major portion of eastern Mewar continued to be occupied by the Delhi Sultans with Songara Cauhans as the Governors on their behalf for about 30 or 35 years. During this period Muslim influence and manner of life must have been introduced in the kingdom in more spheres than one. But the love of independence and the urge to recover the ancestral capital among the Guhilots were so strong that it became almost impossible for the Khaljis as well as the Tughlaqs to retain a peaceful hold over it. Even the Songara Cauhans to whom these tedious and refractory regions were given to rule for them, could not for long postpone the final overthrow of the Muslim yoke, for soon after 1335 A.D. Hamir by his prowess and political sagacity could capture the fort and succeeded in removing all the vestiges of the Muslim subjugation.

M. L. Mathur

Bikaner, noted as Ms. 16 in Dr. Tessitory's Catalogue of the bardic works in prose. The exact words are as follows:—

''बणवीर सोनगरा थी राणे (ऽमीर)गढ लीधो । जुधजीतो खेत्र सोज़न । दोला रो पातसाह सोनगरा वणवीर री मदत आयो गणीने मारयौ चित्रकोट लाधीमुजा बलभी''

MISCELLANY

A few leaves from the history of Singhbhum : A hundred years ago

Chaibassa or the headquarters of Singbhum District in Chota Nagpur is a quiet place, refreshing to the city dweller who would chance to go there for a brief holiday, and stubbornly refusing to be modernised in spite of its close proximity to Jamshedpur, Tata's Steel City and India's glory. More than a dozen years ago, while rummaging the District records, I found some materials, and the notes are offered here in the hope that they may serve somehow as the missing link.

Porahat was attached in 1858; a whole century has been almost completed. The Raja must have been recalcitrant and an order was issued on 22nd January 1858 (Judicial no. 256): "You will proceed at once to attach his Estate and hold it for the benefit of Government, and with a view to its ultimate confiscation if after a term of one month (of which you should give notice by proclamation) he should fail to deliver himself up."

Incidentally we learn (from Judicial no. 1222) that the Raj Thakoor of Khursowan was presented with "a pair of shawls for his loyal services" —and then one wonders how far the Porahat case was related to the Sepoy troubles! And 'loyalty' meant abstention from joining the general revolt.

Lieutenant Reeves, in command of 150 men of the new Cole and Sonthal Levy, we learn from the Judicial record no. 11 dated 1-4-1858, was on the move.

As a mattter of fact, in a Bengal Government record, Judicial Dept. no 12 (Criminal), dated 11 Oct., 1836, we are told in course of a summary of events from 1805 to 1836, "Singbhum would never appear to have been brought under subjection during the Mussalman rule in Hindestan, and the Mahrattas neither took possession of, nor collected *Chaut* from, it." Before 1818, it was an asylum for fugitive offenders! The Raja of Porahat, the Koar of Seraikella, and the Thakoor of Kharswan were neighbouring chiefs. On 29th August, 1818, the Supreme Government instructed Major Roughsedge, Political Agent on the South-West Frontier, through their Chief Secretary Adam, about forming relations with Singbhum. The three chieftains, Rajah Gunsham Singh of Porahata, Baboo (Kooar) Bickram Singh of Seraikella, and Baboo

(Thakoor) Chyetun Singh of Khusuwan, were to be left in the secure enjoyment of their actual possessions, independent of each other, and owing to the supremacy of the British Government. A nominal tribute, or some other indication of the feudal relations to which they were to stand to the British Government was to be required, and engagements were to be taken from the three chieftains calculated to prevent their Estates becoming an asylum to fugitive offenders. There was no desire on the part of the Government of interfering with the internal administration of the Estates. But the Raja of Porahat rejected the terms, and so the negotiations broke off, to be renewed by October, 1819. By 16th January, 1820, the Kooar of Seraikela and the Thakoor of Khusawan agreed, and the Rajah had perforce to agree by the 1st February, "unconditionally," although expressing a hope that the Government would help him (i) in recovering from the Seraikela Kooar his Titulary Household Image (the Paorie Devi) which had been some generations before been carried off by the Kooar of Seraikela; (ii) in regaining certain ta'uks forcibly taken away by Seraikela and Khusuwan, (iii) in checking the Lurka Coles.

Major Roughsedge promised help re: (i) and (ii), but Seraikela at first refused to yield the Paorie Devi, and a party of the Ramgarh battalion had to march under a subedar and enter the Kooar's house; without opposition it was allowed to bring away the image which was restored to Raja Gunsham Singh.

We find that there was some trouble still brewing somewhere, and Bamunghatty, a dependency of Mayurbhanj, was having some trouble. A letter dated 22nd August, 1836 and written by T. Wilkinson, Agent, Governor-General, from his office at Kishenpore states:

"In my opinions, it should always have been our policy to have kept as strong as possib'e, Seraikela, Khurswan and Bamunghatty because the Chiefs of those Estates had a'ways the power to assist us, and have, since we formed relations with Singbhum, prompt'y repaired to our aid when we called them. It is probably now too late to consider how far it was expedient to allow the Mohurbhunje Rajah to expel the Mahapatra and his relations from Bamunghatty, on the principle that every independent (Chief has a right to do that which seems fit to him in the internal management of his own country—this policy is no doubt good when the Interests alone of the Independent Chief are likely to be affected, but not, I respectfully submit, when it injuriously operates on our own Interests, or the Interests of those petty states, whom we are in a manner bound to protect."

In paragraphs 48 and 56, the letter reveals the British administrator's dual policy of ruthless extermination of hostile elements and encouragement to panchayets and schools. Paragraph 48 of the letter says:

"………I would recommend that an example should be made in all these pergunnahs except Suruda. Five or six villages in each of the above named Peers, belonging to the Sirdars of greatest influence, should be attacked and destroyed, all the cattle and property plundered, and the Sirdars, if they did not fall in Action, apprehended and kept in confinement, if not otherwise punished."

A frank and eloquent expression of the policy and practice of the Company's days: but the thin sugar-coating follows in paragraph 56.

"The Coles should be compelled to pay Malgoozarie at the rate of 8 annas per plough………All Criminal and Civil Justice should be administered by the officer in charge, who should be required to make extensive use of Punchayets composed of the Mankies and Moondas held in highest estimation amongst the Lurkas………schools should also be established, and the rising generation instructed, and probably no finer field could be found in India for missionaries."

Here we get the imposition of the new revenue system, the new judiciary, the educational policy also as could be linked to the Christian missions, sympathetically propounded, the idea of conversion not excluded—and all these from no less an authority than the Agent to the Governor-General himself!

But we began with Porahat in 1858, and might as well go back to it. A letter written by Lushington states:

From the Offg. Commissioner of Manbhum and Singbhoom
To The Senior Asst.: Commissioner of Singbhoom
Dated Camp Cheybassa 6th January, 1858

			Chuckerdhurpoor
	1	Daroga	25
	1	Mohurur	10
	16	Borkundazes @ 4 Rs. each	64
Porahaut			
	1	Jemadar	8
	4	Borkundazes @ Rs. 4 each ...	16
			Rs. 123

Sir,

In reply to your letter no. 34 of 5 ultimo I have the honour to send you a copy of letter no. 4704 of 30th ultimo from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal authorizing the ascertainment of a Police establishment for the Porahaut Estate for a period of six months at a total cost of Rupees 123 per mensem as shown above leaving the final adjustment of what force may be considered necessary dependent on the orders that may be eventually passed regarding the disposal of the Estate which is now under attachment............

E. G. Lushington,
Offg. Com., Manbhum & Singbhoom

This action against Porahat was vigorously, almost enthusiastically supported by the authorities as we find in communication no. 60 of 1858 in which Lushington forwarded the very favourabe opinion of the Secretary to the Government of India in Council on "the sound and courageous judgment relative to the measures' taken in regard to Urjoon Singh, Zemindar of Porahat."...............[2]

By the way, the echoes of the Mutiny did not die out all at once. Even in distant Singbhoom was heard the rumour—rather, a proclamation —that a certain rebel Jemadar was wanted. Captain E. J. Dalton, Officiating Commissioner of Chota Nagpur wrote to Lieut. R. C. Birch, Senior Asst. Commissioner, Singbhoom, in a letter dated the 7th November 1857: "I have the honour to enclose a descriptive role of a Jemadar of the Ramghur Light Infantry Batta'ion for whose capture I am authorised to offer a reward of Rupees 1,000/-. He was the leader in the mutiny of the above Regiment and is reported to have escaped from the action at Chuttra in which the mutineers were defeated." Then follows the description of the Jemadar. "Madho Singh, enlisted in 1833, village Bullooah, Baul Pergan., Chhuprah zilla: 5 ft. 5 inches or 7 inches, stout, dark, Tumour on the right side of the face just under

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[1] "The title of Konwer to be conferred on Juggurnath Sing: A life pension of Rs. 300/- per annum to be granted to Bullobhudder Sing. The title of Thakoor be conferred on the Baboo of Keyrah. A small lakhiraj grant to be conveyed to Baboo Uzoynath Sing to be held for two lives." These were the rewards on the conciliatory side. Raja Chuckerdhur Sing of Seraikella also got a khillat.

[2] Letter no. 60 of 1858.

the jaw bone." The description is signed by Lt. G. N. Reeves of the Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion. This was in fact a circular, no. 136, marked "Judicial."

Another echo of the "Mutiny": stamped papers were plundered during the disturbances, and rules were framed for securing the interests of the Government from the use of stamped paper plundered "during the late disturbance," and a reward was offered, 15% in amount, on *bona fide* recovery of the same in undamaged condition. The letter enclosing the rules is no 2510, Home Department, dated 26th November 1857 and it is from C. Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to A. R. Young, Esq., Secretary, Government of Bengal.

Another letter, marked 3969 "Judicial," is as follows: "I am directed by the L. G. to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter no. 4547 of the 13th instant from Government of India in the Foreign Department, and, with reference to the requisition therein made, to request that you will submit, at your earliest convenience a list, or if possible, a descriptive Roll, of the persons in your Division who have taken a leading part in the present rebellion, indicating at the same time the parentage of the parties" etc.

In the "Judicial" letter no. 351, a mention is made of 25 villages of Ghatsila Pergana in connection with the Purulia District: there is a hint about their having been transferred from Midnapur District. It is dated March, 1859.

Urdoo was recommended to be abolished and English instated, by the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur in his "Judicial" No. T.T. dated Camp Asumtolia the 7th August, 1858.

Another letter and on the educational problem of the day, and I have done. This letter is no. 37, marked "Education," and dated 4th April, 1859; it is from the Commissioner, Chota Nagpur to Lieut. R. C. Birch, Senior Asstt. Commissioner, Singhbhoom.

"Sir, I have the honour to be annex a copy of a letter from the D.G. (*Sic*) of P.I. requiring information on certain points having reference to the proposal to revise the English Department of the Chyebassah School which I request you will do me the favour to furnish as accurately as may be possible.

2. With reference to the 2nd question you will be pleased to ascertain from the boys and their parents if in the event of efficient English masters being provided they will agree to study for three or more years

or till a sufficient knowledge of the English language has been acquired by them.

3. In regard to the fees.

4. You will be good enough to state in your reply what progress has been made in Hindee "since the introduction of that language, erroneously I think, as a vernacular."

5. "I should be glad if you can ascertain how many boys are receiving instruction in Oooriah in village schools in Seraikellah to compare with the number actually attending the Hindee Government School there." etc.

Two paragraphs from the D.P.I.'s letter to Dalton are worth quoting:—

"4. What would become of the lads in after life, and to what useful purpose would they turn their knowledge of English?

5. Would not a thorough instruction in some vernacular language be likely to be of more use to them in after life, and especially in their intercourse with the inhabitants of neighbouring districts than a mere smattering of English, supposing that this were all that would result from the deputation to Chyebassa of one or two English Teachers of very moderate attainments."

The political, and educational environment of Chyebassa about a hundred years ago has been suggested in this brief paper, based on a few court records in Chaibassa. A diligent search in the records of the Government of Bengal may repay the efforts of the seeker after knowledge and supply more detailed information on the subject.

P. R. Sen

Date of the Kāñci-Kāverī Expedition—A reply

My article, "Historicity of the Kāñci-Kāverī Tradition" (*IHQ.*, vol. XXI) was at first criticised by Sri G. Ramadas, who disbelieved the tradition, in the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (vol. XXI, pt. 1) and I had to defend my conclusions in a lengthy note. This time R. Subrahmanyam has doubted the truth of some of my statements, while accepting the historical basis of the tradition. He points out that according to the *Mādalā Pāñji*, the Zamindars of Kundajhori (which means banks of the Krishna) broke out in rebellion against the authority of Kapilendra Gajapati in his 35th Anka (1464 A.D.). Very likely, the Gajapati's eldest son Hamvīra and Hamvīra's son Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra joined hands with the rebels. Kapilendra himself marched to the south with the object of suppressing the rebels. It is known from his inscription at Bezwaḍa that he was staying on the banks of the Krishna in S' 1387 (1465). Being disappointed with his eldest son Hamvīra, the king crowned his youngest son Puruṣottama on the banks of the Krishna. Puruṣottama Gajapati's second Anka or first regnal year corresponded to 1465-66 A.D. Kapilendra seemed to have died on January 12, 1468 according to the *Mādalā-Pāñji*.

These are the arguments of Subrahmanyam to which we shall reply in brief. First, we shall refer to the authoritative text of the *Mādalā-Pāñji* edited by Prof. A. B. Mahanti. It is stated that in 33rd Anka of Kapilendra, he took Kundajori (variant Kunḍameru i.e. Kondavidu). He captured Candrāvatīdevi and placed Narasiṁha Raya on the throne of Kundajori.'[1] This statement, whatever may be its historical value, certainly does not refer to the rebellion of the Zamindars of Kundajori against Kapilendra.

Inscriptions tell us that in 1464 Hamvīra and his son were faithfully serving the empire of Orissa. Kumāra Hamvīra Mahāpātra made a gift of cows to the Śrīrangam temple., We learn from the Muṇṇur inscriptions (Nos. 51 & 92 of 1919) that Dakṣiṇa Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, son of Hamvīra (not Kapileśvara Kumāra Hamvīra Mahāpātra) was then ruling over the northern Tamil districts as viceroy. He was named after his grandfather, an old custom. The Jambai inscription, No. 93 of 1906 dated 1472-73 refers to 'Oḍḍiyaṇ Gallabai' and not to the rule of Kapileśvara Mahāpātra.

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[1] "A 33 ṅke—Rājā Kundajori māile. Candrāvatideiki bandi kari ānile. Narasiṁha Rāeku rājā āni kale." *The Mālalā-Pāñji.*

Subrahmanyam does not explain why Kapileśvara and his father suddenly turned rebels which compelled Kapilendra to nominate Puruṣottama as his successor to the throne. So long we were under the impression that Hamvīra revolted only when his legitimate claims to the throne were superseded in favour of Puruṣottama. We wonder how Subrahmanyam could overlook the real cause of Kapilendra's presence on the banks of the Kāverī in 1465-66. An inscription (No. 37 of 1890) in the Arulala temple at Conjeevaram dated November 3, 1465 records that a grant was made, 'while Mallikārjuna was pleased to rule the earth.'' It is evident that the Oriyas were expelled from the banks of the Kāverī before November 1465. Kapilendra proceeded to the south to defend his possessions. It appears that the northern Tamil districts were lost by the time Kapilendra had reached Bezwada. The Gajapati king, being disappointed, returned to his capital. After propitiating Jagannath (see his inscription dated December 14, 1466 in his 41st Anka) the old king marched in person to the south for the last time to recover the prestige of the Oriya arms. Death struck him down when he reached the banks of the Krishna.[2] Before his death he nominated Puruṣottama who was crowned king on the banks of the Krishna.[3] It is stated in the *Mādalā-Pāñji*, that Hamvīra who was not present at the time of his father's death, received the intelligence of Puruṣottama's succession from a messenger. It was a painful surprise to Hamvīra, and at first he refused to recognise Puruṣottama as his father's successor.[4] The Sanskrit work entitled *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritam* narrates that Kapilendra's legitimate sons forced Puruṣottama to undergo an ordeal to prove the dispensation of Jagannath in his favour.

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[2] "Krishnāveni nadikule ābāhana hoilē." *The Mādalā-Pāñji* "That king (Kapilendra)—after reigning for thirty-two years went to the proximity of Viṣṇu at Ṭriveṇī." *The Bhakti Bhāgavata of Jīvadeva.*

[3] "ē uttāru chānka pua Puruṣottamadeva—Kṛṣṇavenī nadikulē rājā hoilē." *The Mādalā-Pāñji.*

[4] "Hamiranku jāi dagarā bāratā kahile. Tāhā śuni Hamirē boilē, 'āmbha thāü Puriā rājā hoilā." *The Mādalā-Pāñji.*

The learned scholar should have studied the Anka system of Orissa to fix the date of Puruṣottama's accession. It is to be noted that Kapilendra's last and Puruṣottama's second Anka year coincided. "When a king dies in the middle of an Anka year," writes M. M. Chakravarti, "his successor's second Anka or first actual year does not run its full course, but ends on the following Bhadrapada śukla dvādaśī."[5] The Anka year roughly corresponds to the period September to September. Assuming that Kapilendra started for the south immediately after worshipping Jagannath, he appears to have died in January 1467. Thus Puruṣottama's second Anka fell between February 1467 and September 1467. Since the earliest inscription of Puruṣottama's reign in his second Anka is dated March 20, 1467 (*SII.*, vol. VI, No. 703) we can reasonably come to the conclusion that he came to the throne in the month of February or in the first half of March, 1467.

Subrahmanyam refers to two inscriptions at Śrīkurmam of the 7th Anka of Puruṣottama to prove that his second Anka corresponds to 1465-66. To convince him of his mistake, we shall refer to the early Anka years of Puruṣottama.

Anka	Date	Inscriptions
2	Sept. 1466—Sept. 1467	S.I.I., IV, No. 703; Jagannath temple inscription dated 16-4-1467
3	Sept. 1467—Sept. 1468	No. 363 XVI of 1899, dated June 3, 1468 Jagannath temple inscription dated 24-11-1467.
4	Sept. 1468—Sept. 1469	
5	Sept. 1469—Sept. 1470	
7	Sept. 1470—Sept. 1471	The Srikurmam temple inscriptions of 1896, No. 365 dated Septetmber 25, 1470; No. 336 dated April 15, 1471 & No. 274 dated June 20, 1471; the Simhacalam temple inscription dated July 21, 1471 (No. 289 K of 1899).

The Potavaram Grant of Anka 29 and the inscription No. 347 of 1896 of Anka 37 also refer to the Śaka years and enable us to fix the date of Puruṣottama's accession.

We shall now briefly refer to other points raised by the learned scholar. Did Puruṣottama temporarily lose his throne to Hamvīra from 1472 to 1476? No Orissan evidence has been discovered so far to corroborate the statement of Ferishta. Absence of inscriptions during the years 1472 and 1476 cannot be cited as a corroborative evidence. It may be noted that we do not find any inscription of Puruṣottama between 1476 and September 1479. Ferishta writes that one 'Hamirā Ooreah' lived as the protégé of Muhammad III at Kondavir and led the revolt against the authority of Muhammad III in alliance with the Ray of Orissa. There is nothing to indicate that this Hamirā was a person other than the unfortunate Gajapati prince.

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[5] *JASB.*, 1803 pt. 1.

Did Puruṣottama invade Kāñci in 1475-77? It is hardly possible to accept this view. The conquest of the Telingana coast by Muhammad in 1471 interposed a wedge between Orissa and Karnata. Puruṣottama made an attempt to recover Telingana in 1475 but met with severe reverses. He could recover Telingana only after the death of Muhammad in 1482. Thus Puruṣottama raided Kāñci either before 1471 or between 1483 and 1491, the date of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha's death. The tradition shows that Puruṣottama returned with spoils from Kāñci. He did not gain any decisive territorial advantage as a result of the raid. But after 1483, Puruṣottama marched against Sāḷuva Narasiṁha to recover his lost possessions. He defeated Narasiṁha and compelled him to give back Udayagiri. In the aged war-weary Puruṣottama of 1483-1491 we hardly recognize the dashing prince of the Kāñci-Kāverī tradition.

Thus we abandon this hypothesis and come to the alternative conclusion that the expedition took place between 1467 and 1471. Puruṣottama was in the south when he was proclaimed king. He appears to have returned to the capital to ascend the throne. In 1467 November he offered worship to Jagannath—his patron deity. The Gajapati king thereafter set out for the re-conquest of the northern Tamil districts—the legacy of Kapilendra's imperialism. We do not know why Puruṣottama returned from Kāñci. Probably he encountered stiff opposition which discouraged him. It may also be a fact that the intrigues of his brother Hamvīra reached his ears, demanding his immediate presence in the capital.

Thus the Kāñci expedition of Puruṣottama very probably took place between November 1467 and 1471, when Muhammad wrested Telingana with the help of Hamvīra from Puruṣottama.

P. Mukherjee

Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga

It is well known that the celebrated Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva was famous under the name Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga. According to Bhavadeva's *praśasti* (*Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III, pp. 25-41), composed by his friend, Brāhmaṇa Vācaspati of the Sāvarṇagotrīya family to which Bhavadeva belonged lived in Siddhalāgrāma in Rāḍhā or Rāḍhā. The grandfather of the great-great-grandfather of Bhavadeva received the grant of a village called Hastnī-bhiṭṭa from a king of Gauḍa. Bhavadeva's grandfather Ādideva was the minister for peace and war to the king of Vaṅga. Bhavadeva himself was also the minister for peace and war to king Harivarman of Vaṅga and his son and successor whose name is not mentioned. Bhavadeva is described as a great exponent of the Brahm-ādvaita system of philosophy and a conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa Kumārila. He was proficient in *siddhānta, tantra, gaṇita* and astronomical sciences and was an antagonist of heretic dialecticians including the Buddhists. Bhavadeva wrote treatises on the *horā-śāstra, smṛti* and *mīmāṁsā* philosophy. He was also well versed in such other subjects as *arthaśāstra, āyurveda, astraveda* and so forth. Mr. D. C. Bhaṭṭācārya has recently published an account of Bhavadeva's works so far traced (*Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā,* Vol. LIII, parts 3-4, pp. 96-108; *IHQ.*, Vol. XXII, June, 1946, pp. 127 ff.). These are the *Tautātitamatatilaka, Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa, Sambandhaviveka, Karmānuṣṭhānapaddhati, Vyavahāratilaka, Nirṇayāmṛta, Tithinirṇaya* and *Gandhaśāstra.*

Bhavadeva's other name Bālavalabhībhujaṅga is not only mentioned in his *praśasti* (verse 24 and line 25) but also in his works. The *Tautātitamatatilaka* (verses 2-3) has the following account about the origin of the name:

mām = adhyayana-daśāyām = uvāca vācaṁ darśisvapne (?)/
Bālavalabhībhujaṅg-āpara-nāmā tvam = asi Bhavadeva//
ten = āyam = udyamo me vidyā-darpān = na jātu saṁjātaḥ/
tasmād = ih = āvadhānaṁ vidhātum = adhikurvate sudhiyaḥ//

This shows that Bhavadeva received the name Bālavalabhībhujaṅga when he was a young student, although its meaning is not clear. That the meaning of *Bālavalabhībhujaṅga* was not intelligible even to early writers is clear from several authors quoted by Mr. Bhaṭṭācārya in his papers cited above. As the words *guptapāda* and *bhujaṅga* both mean 'a serpent', some writers identified Bhavadeva-Bālavalabhībhujaṅga with

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Abhinavagupta, often mentioned as Abhinavaguptapāda. Thus in the *Śārabodhinī* (commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*), Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya says: *Abhinavaguptapādā iti ca tasya Bālavalabhībhujaṅga iti nāma.* Another commentator named Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa also says: *Abhinavaguptapādā iti Valabhībhujaṅga-nāmno Bhavadevasya saṁjñā.* Bhīmasena Dīkṣita in his commentary entitled *Sudhāsāgara* goes one step further: *idam=atra rahasyam/ purā kila kācit valabhī paṭhatāṁ bahūnāṁ Brāhmaṇa-bālānāṁ= ādhyayana-śālā āsīt/tatra paṭhan kaścid=Gauḍa-bālo=tisaubuddhayān=mukharatvāc=ca nikhila-bālānāṁ bhaya-pradatvena Bāla-valabhī-bhujaṅga iti guruṇā vyapadiṣṭaḥ/ sa c=ācāryatām=upagata iti sakala-rahasy-ābhijñaḥ śrī-vāgdevat-āvatāro [Mammaṭo] gūḍhaṁ tan-nāma Abhinava-gopānasī-guptapāda iti vaidagdhya-mukhen=ābhivyanakt=īti.* These interpretations of the name Bālavalabhībhujaṅga are palpably fantastic and far-fetched.

Bālavalabhī is mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin as a city apparently in or about Rāḍha (cf. *Dacca University History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 157). It was the capital of Vikramarāja who was a feudatory of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (*circa* A.D. 1077-1120), a contemporary of Bhavadeva's patron Harivarman. Although the exact location of the city of Bālavalabhī has not yet been satisfactorily determined, it seems to me that Bhavadeva, an inhabitant of Siddhalagrāma in Rāḍha, was associated with the not far distant Bālavalabhī as a student. Bhavadeva thus appears to have been educated at a school in Bālavalabhī. Unfortunately the word *bhujaṅga* is never recognised in the sense of a student in Sanskrit lexicons, although it is quite established in the above sense in the Sanskrit or pseudo-Sanskrit of Malayasia and Indonesia (cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 70, No. 2, April-June, 1950, pp. 73 ff.). The Javanese word *boejangga*=Sanskrit *bhujaṅga* commonly means 'a philologist, poet, literary councillor.' In old Javanese, it was used in the sense of 'an officially appointed professional scholar usually residing in or near the court'; but an older meaning of the word is believed to have been 'a pupil, disciple.' It has been suggested that the word *bujan* meaning 'neophyte' was Sanskritized as *bhujaṅga* meaning 'scholar.' Is it possible to suggest that the word *bhujaṅga* in Bhavadeva's name Bālavalabhībhujaṅga, which cannot be satisfactorily explained according to Sanskrit lexicons, was adopted in the sense of 'a pupil' from Javanese Sanskrit? Considering the close relations that existed between the Śailendras of Indonesia and Malayasia and the Indian ruling houses of the period in question, especially the Pālas of Bengal and the Coḷas of the Coromandel coast (cf. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, pp. 152 ff., 167 ff.), the possibility can hardly be altogether ruled out

D. C. Sircar

The Pretended Embassy of Shah Jahan to China in 1656

My attention has been drawn to this problem by two articles by C. S. K. Rao Saheb, both entitled *Shah Jehan's Embassy to China, 1656 A.D.*.[1] Neither of the two is accessible to me and I do not mind whether they are identical. But the short abstract in *IHQ.*, XI (1935), p. 186, has prompted me to take up again the question.

The only source on this embassy, which is ignored (as far as I know) by the Persian texts of Moghul history, is the travel relation of the first Dutch embassy to the Manchu court of Peking.[2] The embassy was headed by Pieter de Goyer and Jakob de Keyzer; they left Batavia on July 14th, 1655, stayed in Peking during the summer and autumn of 1656, and were back in Batavia on March 31st, 1657. The account of their journey is due to their German secretary Johann Neuhof (or Nieuhof, 1618-1672); it was published almost simultaneously in Dutch and in French in the year 1665, and became at once so popular that it underwent a great number of re-issues and re-editions in many languages. None of these editions reproduces exactly the original account; but Professor Guilhou has shown that the version which is nearest to the original is the one found in Melchisédec Thévenot's *Relations de divers voyages curieux qui n'ont point esté publiées*, 4 parts, Paris 1663-1672.[3]

There are three passages which refer to the embassy under question, and they are partly translated and partly summarized below.

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[1] In *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, IX (1934), and in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Silver Jubilee Number (1934/5).

[2] On this embassy see Petech, *L'ambasciata olandese del 1655-75 nei documenti cinesi*, in *RSO* XXV (1950), pp. 77-87.

[3] Guilhou, Remarques sur le récit du voyage en Chine de Jean Nieuhof, in *Neophilologus*, vol. XXIII, pp. 109-119.

(1) The *Route of the journey* of the embassy says that in olden times the Muslims had exerted a great activity in north-western China, and that it had been the custom for them to despatch yearly an envoy with twenty followers to Peking. But then the so-called Muslim ambassadors were discovered to be merchants from the Chinese province of Shensi, and were ordered to quit Peking at once; they refused, and thereupon they were mostly cut to pieces. For a time nobody came. Then "at the time when the ambassadors of Holland were there (scil. in Peking), and precisely on the 3rd of August 1656, an ambassador from the Grand Mogol appeared there; he arrived with a present of......(*the list will be given later*). All this was under the pretext of obtaining for their priests the liberty of coming back to the kingdom of China, like they have done from the oldest times, in order to lead to the right path these poor populations, who live in the error. He said that the Grand Mogol, his master, had under him 360 kings and that his country was the most extensive of all those which are near China. The Tartars (i.e. the Manchu) concluded, as it was indeed the truth, that this embassy had been sent out perforce and for fear that the Tartars to the west of China should wage war on them, rather than out of any goodwill felt towards this state (China)". The ambassador had brought with him 30 persons instead of the allowed 20, for which he was reprimanded by the Chinese. He was continuously and ridiculously complaining of the reception by the Chinese and of the food supplied to him. Things went so far, that the Chinese asked him outright whether he was an ambassador or a merchant, in which latter case he would be allowed to trade freely in Peking. In the meantime the embassy was confined in their quarters and closely watched.[4]

(2) In the *Relation of the Dutch embassy* we find an account of the solemn reception of the embassy by the emperor on October 2nd, 1656; the Mogol embassy is mentioned as being received along with the Dutch and going through the same ceremonies as the Europeans.[5]

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[4] Pagination is very much confused in Thévenot's work; in each volume the count begins several time again from 1. The passage in question is in Part III, first series, pp. 24-25.

[5] Part II, last series pp. 56-59.

(3) Another passage repeats the statement of the arrival of the Mogol embassy on August 3rd, 1656, and the list of the presents.[6]

Even *a priori*, the above data look doubtful. The Muslim ambassadors to China prior to 1656 were obviously those half-serious half-farcical embassies, real commercial enterprises thinly disguised under a diplomatic cover, sent to Peking by the Muslim princes of Central Asia; we have some good accounts of their real state by the Catholic missionaries at the Chinese court.[7] What had the Great Moghul to do with them? And why should the emperor of India be afraid of the Tartars (i.e. the Mongols) to the west of China? Above all, the Moghuls never sent embassies to an infidel ruler; why should China be an exception? And even if this be the case, why such an important event is not mentioned in the Moghul sources? Thus we may surmise that by the name Grand Mogol the Dutch envoys really meant some prince of Central Asia.

The doubt is solved and the suspicion turns to a certainty through a reference to the Chinese texts. All the embassies from foreign lands to the Chinese court, without exception, are registered in the great collection of official documents of the Manchu dynasty, the *Ta-ch'ing-li-chao-shih-lu*, photographically published at Tokyo in 1937. And indeed we duly find there a mention of the Dutch embassy, its audience at court and the list of the presents brought by them. There is not the slightest hint about any mission from India and the Moghul empire, but we find that on the 2nd October, 1656 the emperor received, along with the Dutch, an embassy from Tu-lu-fan, i.e. Turfan, an important commercial town in Eastern Turkestan.[8] This is the "Mogol" embassy of Neuhof. Any doubt on this score is dispelled by the list of the presents brought by the Tu-lu-fan envoys and exactly recorded in the Chinese text; it coincides with Neuhof's list of the presents offered by the embassy of the "Grand Mogol", as may be seen in the following table:

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[6] Part I, second series (beginning with the *Informatione della Georgia* of Pietro della Valle), p. 27.

[7] See e.g., D'Elia, Carovane di mercanti-ambasciatori dalla Siria alla Cina attraverso l'Asia Centrale nel 1627, in *Studies Missionalia* I (1943), pp. 303-349.

[8] *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 103, f. 9b.

Shih-tsu Shih-lu ch. 103, f. 12a-b	Thévenot, Part III, p. 26 (re-arranged in the order of the left column)
4 dromedaries	4 dromedaries
1 Western horse	2 Persian horses
324 small horses	300 common horses
2 maces[9] of diamonds	
1000 cattles[10] of jade	10 piculs[10] of coldryn stones
200 small knives	200 Moorish knives
4 Western bows	4 bows
2 carpets	2 alcatifs or carpets
1 saddle	1 saddle with all its leather work
4 antelope horns	8 rhinoceros horns
1 eagle and one set of eagle-feathers	2 eagles
	2 ostrichs

In the middle of the 17th century the ruler of Turfan was one Abdullah (A-pu-ta-la-ha),[11] a scion of the Chaghatai branch of the Gengiskhanid family. Turfan was one of the last strongholds of Muslim and Gengiskhanid power in Central Asia.[12] And thus the "Grand Mogol" of Neuhof was really a petty Mongol ruler of Central Asia; it is true that he was much better entitled to the name of Mongol than the half-Turkish and Indianized Timurids in India.

In face of the indisputable evidence of the Chinese documents, Shah Jahan's alleged embassy to China fades away from the field of sober history.

LUCIANO PETECH

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[9] 1 mace – 1/10 tael, the Chinese silver ounce.

[10] 1 catty = 16 taels; 100 catties = 1 picul = 133 1/3 lbs.

[11] On the day *ting-wei* of the 8th moon (October 19th, 1656) the emperor addressed to him a rescript as reply to the message brought by the embassy. *Shih-tsu Shih-lu*, ch. 103, ff. 22a-23a.

[12] Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, Paris 1948, pp. 577-578.

REVIEWS

SIDDHABHARATI OR THE ROSARY OF INDOLOGY. VISHVESHVARANAND INDOLOGICAL SERIES—1. Edited by Vishva Bandhu Shastri, M.A., M.O.L. (Pb.), O.d'A. (Fr.), Kt. C.T. (It.). Part One, pages 1-xxx + 1-266. Part Two, pages 1-345 (Royal Octavo). Hoshiarpur, V.V.R. Institute P. & P. Organisation.

Publication of commemoration volumes in honour of distinguished men of letters, particularly Indologists, has of late almost become a fashion. These are usually sumptuous volumes, beautifully got up, rich with contributions from scholars of different parts of the world. A rather curious and interesting feature of the volumes is that a fair number of contributors is found to be common to most of them. It is however a matter of regret that the volumes which are not given enough publicity scarcely reach the wider circle of interested readers. Volumes published as special numbers of well-known journals are in a comparatively better position though these are very few in number. Thus much important and useful material contained in these volumes cannot be properly utilised. What we can do in these circumstances is to draw the attention of the world of scholars to the contents of these volumes as and when they are published.

The latest work to be published in this connection is the one under review. It presents 108 original papers on Indological subjects in honour of the 60th birthday of the well-known philologist Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D.Litt. Its publication is associated with tragic circumstances which compelled the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute to leave its original habitat at Lahore involving heavy losses, so that it could see the light of day full three years after the scheduled time. And the Institute deserves to be congratulated for having succeeded in completing the work in a commendable manner against heavy odds.

The papers published in it, which have been contributed by scholars hailing from different parts of the country and outside, deal with various aspects of the history and culture of India. Most of them are in English with a few in Sanskrit and one in French. The papers here unlike those in similar other works have been arranged in several sections, e.g., 1. Philological Studies; 2. Vedic and Avestic Studies; 3. Other Literary Studies; 4. Studies in Philosophy and Religion; 5. Studies in Literary History; 6. Studies in General History; 7. Miscellaneous Studies. It would be noticed that the heads of classification are not always quite clear and that the inclusion of some of the items under particular heads in preference to others is rather dubious.

A short life-sketch of Dr. Varma accompanied by a list of his published works is given in the beginning of part I. It is a matter of regret that some inaccuracies were detected in the latter. His articles on *Elative case in Bhadrawahi* and *Indian dialects in Phonetic transcription* were published in the *JRASB.* in its 1945-Volume and not in the 1944-Volume. And his work on Bhalesi dialect appeared not in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* but as a separate work in its monograph series.

It is not possible to refer to in the course of a review to all the papers appearing in the work. It must also be confessed here that all the papers cannot be considered to be worth mentioning. I shall only give a bird's-eye view of the contents of the various sections of the work with a special reference to a few of the more important and interesting papers.

In Section I Dr. S. K. Chatterji in his *Foreigners and Indian names: The Panjab speech through the ages* and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja in his *Some Malabar Mannerisms in Sanskrit* have initiated lines of study which may be profitably followed up with other provincial languages. Dr. Daniel Jones' short paper on a *Romanic Orthography for the Oriya Language* which gives a specimen of the alphabet required for Oriya is a continuation of similar attempts made in recent years with regard to some other languages of India. Besides a few papers on Sanskrit etymology, morphology and semantics the section includes several papers on one aspect or other of some of the provincial languages. We might also mention here Agrawala's lexicographical study *Pre-Paninian technical terms* appearing in Section V.

In Section II there are papers on textual criticism, exegesis, language, figures of speech and religion of the Vedas. Besides these, two papers, one on *the Culture of the Vedas* and the other on *the Vedic Schools and the epigraphy*, have been included in Section V. There are two papers on Avesta of which one by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala deals with a gāthā verse which in the opinion of the author 'clearly sets forth the doctrine of rebirth' though the current belief is that 'the doctrine of transmigration is nowhere clearly mentioned in Zoroastrian Scriptures.'

Section III contains seven papers on Epic, Purāṇa and Smṛti topics, three on Sāhitya and one on folk-lore. Of these Mahāmahopādhyāya Vishveshvara Nath Reu's extracts from his new and original Smṛti work entitled *Viśveśvara Smṛti* are very interesting. He has composed this work for the benefit of the present-day people who have little respect for the old Śāstras. In it he has given his sanction to modern ideas and practices. Śrāddha, he says, is preserving the memory of the forefathers with due regard. Marraiage of women for the second time, according to him, though not approved by the ancients is preferable to forcible abortion. Dr. Kulkarni has contributed an instalment of his investigations into the grammatical peculiarities of the *Mahābhārata*. Śrī Suresh Chandra Banerji has instituted a comparison between the *vratas* described in the Purāṇas and those mentioned in the Smṛti Nibandhas of Bengal. His conclusions in this connection that 'the rules of the vratas [in the Purāṇas] were framed more for improving the social and economic status of the Brahmins and for tightening their grip on society than for any religious motive' (p.222) and that 'the numerous and varied gifts of the Purāṇas are absent in the Smṛti digests, a fact which demonstrates that by this time Brahmanical supremacy was well-established' (p. 224) cannot be said to be sufficiently justified. Papers on topics similar to those in the present section are scattered in other sections too. Dr. Pusalkar's interesting paper on Purāṇic Study (*Aryan origins according to Purāṇas*) included in Section VI shows that 'the Purāṇas state nothing as to the original home of the Aryans nor do they countenance the theory of the entry of the Aryans through the north-west of India' (p. 271). Dr. U. N. Ghoshal discusses the interpretation of an old Smṛti text in his paper '*The legal status of trades and crafts in the early Smṛtis*' also appearing in the same section. We also find there an instalment of L. Sternbach's *Juridical Studies in ancient Indian Law* dealing with the legal position of women whose husbands live on their earnings. The solitary paper on modern Indian literature, namely *Modern Hindi Literature—a critical survey* by Sri Gourishankar included in Section V may also be mentioned here. It traces the tendencies revealed in different branches of Hindi literature during the last sixty years resulting from contact with the West.

In Section IV 18 papers give exposition of different topics bearing on the various systems of philosophy—Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, Buddhist, Jain and Sufi. There are three papers connected with religious sects—two concerning the origin of Śaivism and Śāktaism and one with the iconography of Viṣṇu image.

Section V contains, besides the papers mentioned in connection with the treatment of other sections, several papers discussing the dates of famous authors and works, e. g., Pāṇini, Kālidāsa, Udayana, Śriharṣa, *Bhagavadgītā* and *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, and few papers giving accounts of some authors and their works, one paper identifying the country of Kauṭilya as Bihar and another paper drawing attention to the lost Prākṛt works referred to in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of Bhoja.

In addition to papers already mentioned above, Section VI has articles on different aspects of old Indian culture, e. g., Aryan and Non-Aryan in Kerala, Tamilian cultural heritage, Economic system in Ancient India, Origin of State in Hindu Political theory, Machiavellism in Ancient India, Theory and Practice of Diplomacy in Ancient Indian law, Kingship and allied institutions in the Buddha's days.

Section VII consists of four papers which with the exception of one on spiritualism could very well be relegated to other sections. And the paper on *Spirit Communication* has possibly no connection with Indology. Of the remaining three papers one very briefly touches on the Persian scholarship of the Hindus in the Muhammadan period, another gives a descriptive and historical account of the Jami Masjid of Jaunpur and the last one describes two quaint customs of Travancore.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDU SAṂSKĀRAS: A Socio-Religious Study of the Hindu Sacraments: By Dr. Raj Bali Pandey, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Banaras Hindu University; published by Vikrama Publications, Bhadaini, Benares, pp. XXVIII + 546.

The book, under review, gives an account of the Smārta Saṃskāras, which constitute an important aspect of Hindu culture. Their origin may be traced to hoary antiquity, and they seek to influence and refine the life of a Hindu from its inception in the mother's womb to death and even beyond it through the cult of the soul. These ceremonies and symbolic performances were based on the prevalent religious beliefs and social conditions, and they gave expression to the ideals and aspirations of the Hindus. Indeed, they provide a key to the understanding of the life of a Hindu in its social and religious setting. The study of these sacraments, some of which have now gone out of vogue, is thus a subject of absorbing interest, and we are happy that Dr. Pandey has done it in a worthy manner.

The work has been divided into ten chapters. The first deals with the sources in their chronological order bringing out their relative importance in the reconstruction of the history of the Saṁskāras. The second discusses the meaning and number of the Saṁskāras. Here the peculiar meaning of the Saṁskāras has been explained and their scope and number fixed. The third chapter throws light on their purpose, giving a clear analysis of the popular, superstitious, material, moral and spiritual significance underlying them. The fourth has for its theme the constituents of the Saṁskāras. It classifies and interprets the various elements and factors, which constitute them. Chapters V-IX deal with the origin, development and significance of the classical sixteen Saṁskāras from Garbhādhāna (conception) to Antyeṣṭhi (funeral). The tenth and the concluding chapter gives a retrospect and prospects of the Saṁskāras from the sociological and psychological points of view.

The author deserves to be warmly congratulated on the excellent work that he has produced. His treatment of the subject is lucid and critical, and is based upon his extensive knowledge of, and insight into, the ancient social and religious institutions of India and the original texts bearing on them. He has collected almost all the available data, and drawn from them cautious conclusions. It is really noteworthy that the author has not indulged in speculative and mystic interpretations of the various symbols, rites, ceremonies and social customs. He has throughout given profuse quotations and references, which make it easy for the reader to check and verify his statements and generalisations. It would, however, be well if in the next edition the proofs are more carefully corrected so as to avoid clumsy typographical mistakes. One may also not agree with the approach of the author on certain points, but these do not in any way detract from the intrinsic merit of the work. It is an original and substantial contribution towards the re-construction of the history of an interesting aspect of Hindu culture, and I have no doubt that students and scholars alike will find the book useful and instructive.

R. S. Tripathi

HAMĀRĪ ĀDIM JĀTIYĀ by Bhagawan-das Kela and Akhil Vinay. Published by Bharatiya Granthamala, Daraganj. Allahabad, 1950.

The volume under review removes the long felt want of a popular work in Hindi on the aboriginal tribes of India, whose total number is nearly twenty-five millions. Not only their number but their varieties also give them a unique importance in a demographic discussion of our land. Anthropologists of India as well as of the West have indeed made some pioneer work in this field. But much remains yet to be done. It may be hoped that the present volume will interest many of our young scholars about the manners and customs of the aboriginals as well as their prehistoric relation with our ancient culture. A greater knowledge of them will surely help us to integrate them culturally in our body politic. That the Indo-Aryans unlike what some modern nations have done in Australia and America have not carried on an war of extermination against the aboriginals whom they met on coming down to this land, speaks for their great catholicity towards those fellow-beings, culturally less advanced. But it must be admitted that this generosity on their part has created for the posterity many intricate social and political problems. That during her long history of subjection under people of alien faith and race India could never 'unite as a nation was probably due mainly to a bewildering variety of customs and habits of her vast number of people. But, for this we should not blame our forefathers who discovered very early the great merit of humanism and placed ideal before expediency. Now it is the duty of every citizen of free India to take kindly interest in the aboriginal people whom they meet as neighbours, and to let them share the fruits of modern civilization to which as children of India they are fully entitled.

The writers of the present work have devoted its second part in discussing ways and means by adopting which our administrators as well as leaders will be able to ameliorate the conditions of the aboriginals. These being the two aspects of the present work we may wholeheartedly recommend it to the general public for whom it is meant.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

RUBAIYAT-I-SARMAD, edited and translated by Fazil Mahmud Asiri, M. A., Visvabharati, Santiniketan, 1950.

To the student of Indian mysticism the name of Sarmad is not unknown. Beheaded by the order of Aurangzeb due to his heretical views this Sufi master attained the position of a saint-martyr to the posterity. It was not so much his heresy as his love for Dara Shikoh that brought down the wrath of Aurangzeb on him. But the bigoted emperor by getting him executed could not extinguish his popularity which went on increasing ever more. Sarmad was not only a person spiritually enlightened but he had great poetical powers as well. A good number of gazal, rubai, quit'a etc. which he left is a sure testimony to his literary ability. It seems that a large portion of what he composed got lost. It is the quatrains (rubais) on which his fame as a poet mainly rests. But these are not available in any old ms. The text editions of this published before the present one are not free from gross errors. The present editor and translator of Sarmad's quatrains have taken great pains to give scholars as well as readers in general the most authentic quatrains of Sarmad. His translation too attempts to clarify many points on which earlier writers could not give sufficient light. It may be hoped that the present edition of Sarmad's rubais with its very learned and elaborate introduction and translation will earn the hanks tof the students of Persian literature as well as of medieval mysticism. Visvabharati is to the congratulated on bringing out this valuable work.

M. GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. XXX, pts. III-IV

Buddha Prakash.—*Vṛtra.* This is an attempt to prove that the concept of Vṛtra in the Veda typifies the traits and characteristics of the proto-Indian people that inhabited the Indus Valley area. These people organised and guided by their Brāhmaṇa priest Vṛtra are conjectured to have unsuccessfully resisted the hordes of Aryan invaders advancing under the leadership of Indra. The ritualistic raligion as adumbrated in the Vedas is thought to have been adopted by the Aryans from their vanquished enemies, the proto-Indian Vṛtra-Brāhmaṇas. The true spirit of the Aryan religion is now reflected in the preachings of the Gītā, Upaniṣads, Jainism and Buddhism.

H. Goetz.—*Purandhar: Its Monuments and their History [with Plates and Plans].* The ruins of caves, forts, and shrines at Purandhar and Wazīrgadh on a mountain range situated a few miles south of Poona have been described, and their history from the pre-Muslim times to the late Maratha period has been related in this paper.

P. V. Bapat.—*Another Valuable Collection of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts.* Fragments of birch-bark manuscripts sent by a Muslim army officer of Rawalpindi by way of a sample have revealed on examination that the officer possesses an important collection of manuscripts containing among others the *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra* in Sanskrit.

D. V. Garge.—*Jaimini—Śabara and the Science of Grammar.* In one Adhikaraṇa of the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsāsūtra*, Jaimini has dealt with some of the grammatical topics touched by Pāṇini. Śabara in his *Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya* has referred to and quoted from Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. Passages have been quoted here to establish that Śabara has also drawn upon Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and was influenced by the style of the latter.

P. C. Divanji.—*Bhagavadgītā and Aṣṭādhyāyī.* The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* furnishes proof of Pāṇini's acquaintance with the original *Mahābhārata* of Veda Vyāsa with the *Bhagavadgītā* forming its part.

P. K. Gode.—*Date of Srīdharasvāmin, Author of the Commentaries on the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and other Works (Between c A.D. 1350 and 1450).*

R. Lingat.—*The Buddhist Manu or the Propagation of Hindu Law in Hīnayānist Indo-China.* Laws prevalent in Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Laos show signs of Hindu influence. The Burmese version of the Wareru Code which was a Mon translation of a Pali *Manudhammasattham* seems to have been based on the juridical parts of the two versions of Manu, the *Manusaṃhitā* and the [Nāradīya] *Manusmṛti.*

S. K. Dikshit.—*Was the Bhagavadgītā known to Megasthenes?* The non-mention of the doctrine of Karmayoga in the available works of Megasthenes does not preclude the probability of his being aware of the existence of the *Gītā* and its tenets.

D. S. Triveda.—*Date of Kaniṣka, 1356 B.C.* The extreme divergence of opinion current about the date of Kaniṣka leads the author of this paper to rely upon the evidence of Kalhaṇa, who gives the date of Kaniṣka's accession as 1356 B.C.

Sulochana A. Nachane.—*The Date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī.* Madhusūdana is said to have witnessed the regime of the Mughal rulers from Akbar to Aurangzeb and thus lived *circa* 1565 to 1672 A.C.

R. D. Karmarkar.—*The Aśvamedha: Its original Signification.* The word *yajña* originally meant procreation, and the expression *Aśvamedha* connoted 'union with a horse.'

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin) vol. XIV, pt. 3

K. Madhava Krishna Sarma.—*Jayamādhava-mānasollāsa of Jayasiṃha: New Light on the Author of Madanaratnapradīpa.* There is in the Anup Sanskrit Library of Bekaner a manuscript of Jayasiṃha's *Jayamādhavamānasollāsa*, a Sanaskrit work on the worship of Viṣṇu. The introductory stanzas reveal that the author belonged to Gorakhpur and had an ancestor named Madanasiṃha. But this Madanasiṃha of Gorakhpur was not the son of Śaktisiṃha, and should not be identified with Madanasiṃhadeva who was associated with the compilation of the great Smṛti digest *Madanaratnapradīpa.*

THE FOLLOWING SERIAL PUBLICATIONS continue:

Idea of Personality.
वेदान्तकारिकावली *of Veṅkaṭācarya.*
Some Aspects of Education in Ancient India.
याज्ञवल्क्युपनिषद्विवरणम् *of Puruṣottamānandatīrtha.*
Edicts of Aśoka (Priyadarśin).
होराशास्त्रम् *of Varāhamihira.*

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
vol. 26 (1950)

SIDDHESWAR VARMA.—*The Vedic Accent and the Interpreters of Pāṇini.* The exposition of Sanskrit phonetic problems given by the interpreters of the Pāṇinian school of Grammar is found insufficient.

C. G. KASHIKAR.—*The Revised Sautrāmaṇi-text of the Vārāhaśrautasūtrā.*

D. D. KOSAMBI.—*On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras.* It is argued that "specifically as regards some important Brahmins, the gotra system is adopted by small groups of pre-Kṣatriya and pre-Aryan people from Aryan invaders. As these groups take to the functions of priesthood, they are most logically assigned to the partriarchal clan-group of those for whom they officiate."

J. N. UNVALA.—*Inscriptions from Suruhani near Baku.* Short inscriptions, sixteen in number, thirteen in Devanāgarī characters, two in Gurumukhī, and one in Arabic script, found in a Fire Temple near Baku have been published here. Most of the Inscriptions are of the 19th century and those in Devanāgarī begin with 'Obeisance to Gaṇeśa' and were probably placed by the builders of the shrines in the temple.

B. C. LAW.—*Contemporary Indian Ceylonese Kings.*

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYYA.—*The Kāvyakaustubha and its great Source of Inspiration.* The influence of Jayadeva's *Candrālaka* has been discussed.

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. VII, pts. 2—4

B. C. LAW.—*Geographical Data in Indian Inscriptions.* The paper contains notes on more than one hundred towns, villages, rivers and mountains of South India mentioned in various epigraphical records.

Tara Sankar Bhattacharya.—*Gaṅgeśa's Definition of Valid Knowledge.* The nature of 'Pramā' (valid knowledge) as defined in Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacīntāmaṇi* has been dealt with.

Sakuntala Rao.—*The Purdah.* The extent of restrictions on the free movement of women in ancient India as referred to in literature has been discussed, and the significance of the terms *antaḥpura*, *avarodha* and *śuddhānta* explained with the conclusion that the system of *Purdah* or seclusion of women was first adopted in this country from the foreign rulers by the rulers of the land, and later it 'extended to the aristocracy as a mark of dignity and respect'.

V. W. Karambelkar.—*Magic Ritual in Sanskrit Fiction* :

Jaidev Singh.—*The Problem of Incontinence in the Bhagavadgītā.* The question why does a man resort to the wrong path even though he knows the right one is discussed in the light of the teachings of the *Gītā*.

K. C. Varadachari.—*Time and Mysticism.* The "division of Time into the two transcendent forms of Prāṇa and Sūrya, and Rayi and Candramas; and the three temporal forms of Uttarāyaṇa, Śuklapakṣa and Ahas, and Dakṣiṇāyana, Kṛṣṇapakṣa and Rātri reveals the significance......attached to the Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti paths..."

Sadasiva L. Katre.—*Terminus ad quem for the Dates of Madhusūdanasarasvatī's three Works Vedāntakalpalatikā, Siddhāntabindu and Mahimnaḥstotra-ṭīka—Saṁvat 1650 = 1593 A. C.*

Prahlad C. Divanji.—*Bhagavadgītā and Sānkhya Philosophy.*

Sureshchandra Banerjee.—*Prāyaścitta.* The subject-matter of the paper is 'expiation' as dealt with in the Smṛtinibandhas of Bengal.

V. M. Apte.—*The Varuṇa Hymns in the Ṛgveda.* One hymn (*Ṛv.*, V, 85) has been translated into English with annotations and notes.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XVIII, pt. II

Louis Renou.—*Vedic Study—Its History and Future.*

K. A. Subramania Iyer.—*The Point of View of the Vaiyākaraṇas.*

Speculations in the science of Grammar found in connection with the definitions of various concepts are generally linguistic in nature, but sometimes introduce ideas which properly belong to the domain of Philosophy.

R. C. HAZRA.—*Works and Period of Literary Activity of Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya.* Govindānanda, a Smṛti writer of Bengal in the first part of the 16th century composed as many as eleven treatises.

K. V. RAMACANDRAN.—*Music and Dance in Kalidāsa.*

T. N. RAMACANDRAN.—*A Nāṭyācārya from the Naṭamandira of the Sūrya Temple of Koṇārka (1238-64 A.D.).* The Koṇārka temple of Orissa has a dancing hall with sculptured galleries containing figures of girls and men in various dancing poses, many of them with musical instruments. In a niche among them stands erect a figure of a man with an inscription below in Kaliṅga Nāgarī script of the 12-13th centuries— सोम्य श्रीदत्त. This Śrīdatta may have been a respectable dancing master patronised by the Gaṅga king Narasiṃha I who built the Koṇārka temple.

—.—*Dancing Devī from Kanyākumārī (13th century A.C.).* A bronze image of a goddess obtained somewhere in the southernmost point of South India performing a 'graceful dance' in the *Ūrdhva-jānu* pose, with the right leg raised and bent at the knee, appears to be a representation of the dancing Pārvatī. The bronze figure resembling in several points the finds of South Indian bronze in Polonnaruwa of Ceylon is assigned to the late Cola period (13th century).

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

1950, Parts 3 & 4

H. GOETZ.—*Masterpieces of Oriental Art : 15.* Two heavenly dancers (Apsaras) decorating the pedestal of the Koppeśvara temple at Khederpur in the Deccan (12th century A.C.) have been described.

—.—*Unidentified Caves at Purandhar.* Explorations of the basalt cliffs of the Purandar hill in Mahārāṣtra have resulted in the discovery of a number of caves whose designs are difficult to explain. It is suggested that these caves might have been started as tombs by some foreign dynasty but were finally abandoned when these foreigners adopted some Indian religion.

R. O. Winstedt.—*A Relic of Śāktism in Muslim Malaya.* A propitiatory ceremony of magical character conducted by the Kelantan priest of either sex who is termed for the occasion "princess," may be a relic of Tāntricism in Malaya.

D. R. Shackleton Baily.—*Notes on the Divyāvadāna.* The texts of the *Divyāvadāna* tales as published in Cowell and Neil's edition may be improved by a comparison with their Tibetan versions in the *Ḥdul ba.*

Poona Orientalist, vol. XIII, nos. 3 & 4

Buddha Prakash.—*A Babylonian Word in Sanskrit.* The Babylonian *Kukupi,* the Hebrew *Kofi* and the Hindi *Kuppi* signify a flask or a leather vessel, but the Sanskrit equivalent *Kūpa* is primarily used in the sense of a well.

Sadashiva L. Katre.—*Date of Madhusūdanasarasvatī's Vedāntakalpalatikā—before Saṃvat 1650 or 1593 A.C.* The year 1717 mentioned in the post-colophon verse of a manuscript refers to the date of the scribe and not to the time of Madhusūdana. The date in the Śaka era is equivalent to 1795 A.C.

K. Krishnamoorthy.—*The Indian Theory of Dhvani and its Parallels in Western Literary Criticism.*

B. N. Krishnamurthy Sarma.—*A Note on "Yatra dvāv iva jaghanā" (Ṛv., i, 28, 2).* The interpretation of the *Ṛgvedic* verse *yatra dvāv iva jaghanā* with the help of a sexological simile is regarded as inappropriate. The boards upon which Soma is pressed are likened here to a woman's *jaghana* region and there is no need of bringing in a man in the description.

H. R. Rangaswami Iyengar.—*Vidyānanda and Pātrakesari—Are they Identical?* The contention of the Note is that Vidyānanda, the author of the *Tattvārthaślokavārtika* was later than the great Jaina teacher Pātrakesari.

S. N. Vyas.—*Woman as Chattel in the Rāmāyaṇa.*

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society' vol. XXXIX, no. 4

K. S. Vaidyanathan.—*The Kopparam Plates of Pulakeśin II and the Date of Accession of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana.* Arguments are put forward to show that the date for the starting point of the Eastern Cālukya chronology is 624 A.C. when Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of the dynasty, rose to power.

NARAYANA RAO GONDKER.—*The Third Invasion of the Peshwa Madhava Rao I against Mysore (1769-1770).*

University of Ceylon Review, vol IX, no. 1

C. W. NICHOLAS.—*The Territorial Divisions of Ceylon from Early Times to the 12th Century.* Informaton is collected from the chronicles, commentaries and inscriptions to give an idea of the major principalities of ancient and mediæval Ceylon. Tabular statements and a map are appended.

N. A. JAYAWICKRAMA.—*The Sutta Nipāta : Pucchās of the Pārāyana Vagga.*

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The Mañcapuri Cave

The Mañcapuri Cave: This cave of the second-first century B.C., in Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri, near Bhuvaneshwar, Orissa is very important for our study of the history of Kaliṅga in general and of Jainism in particular in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. The main part of it was put up by Kudepasiri and the rest by Kumāra Vaḍukha. The inscription in this cave reads as—

> "Airasa mahārājasa Kaliṅgādhipatino mahā—vāha—
> Kudepasiriṇo leṇaṁ/
> kumāro Vaḍukhasa leṇaṁ"

Probably Kudepasiri was Khāravela's successor and Vaḍukha, the successor of Kudepasiri. The truth seems to be that these *leṇas* were erected for the persons mentioned in pursuance of the *saṁpradāya* for kings to take to *muni-vṛtti* (*vārdhakye munivṛttīnām*) so common in Jainism (so assures Prof. Upadhyaya of Kolhapur as is evident from the Jaina stories). Persepolitan and Scythian influences are noticeable in this cave in the carvings of gate-keepers, pillar-brackets revealing fully clad cavaliers on caprisoned horses wearing like *Kirātas* undergarments of leaf patterns. (*cf.* the soldiers in the Gaṇésa-gumphā also in Udayagiri). Other features worth noting in this cave are the design of railing of the Bodh-Gayā pattern and entablature of *śālā* pattern inter-spaced by *toraṇas* revealing rafters as in Lomasa-ṛṣi cave, Barabar Hills, Bihar. There are *Tri-ratna* designs over the arched entrances to the *leṇas* which are double voluted. Persepolitan pilasters support the *śālā* entablature. Among the bracket figures women holding *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* and with heavy *keśa-bandha*, secured by garlands occur. The brackets are cut out.

The most important scene which arrests our attention in this cave is the central scene on the façade of the verandah (plate I). Though unfortunately mutilated what remains shows a throne with a royal group on the proper left consisting of two men and two women. The first man near the throne is badly mutilated. He is probably the king, by virtue of his proximity to the throne. Behind him stands another royal figure with a tiara resembling the tiara on Mauryan heads found at Sārnāth[1]. Let us call him the prince. Behind the prince stand two women of equal status. The first may be taken to be the queen, the next as the princess. Above the king and the prince are two *gandharvas* hovering in the sky and beating a drum suspended on a pole (*cf.* Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa). It is not the bell as R. D. Banerji took it to be. Above the women adjoining the *gandharvas* there is a representation of a "full-blown" lotus which has been readily taken by all to represent Sūrya. While the attitude of the royal party is to adore whatever was kept on the throne, the flower and the *gandharvas* over the party bring out their importance. Shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Khāravela), prince (perhaps Kudepasiri) and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kaliṅga Jina which Khāravela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people[2] ?

Another possible identification is with reference to the inscriptions actually found in this cave. The nearmost king may be Kudepasiri while behind him stands the Kumāra (heir-apparent—is he Vaḍukha?), in which case, the peculiar *tiara* can be taken to be a coronet.

Outside, or to speak correctly at the proper left end, we can note a

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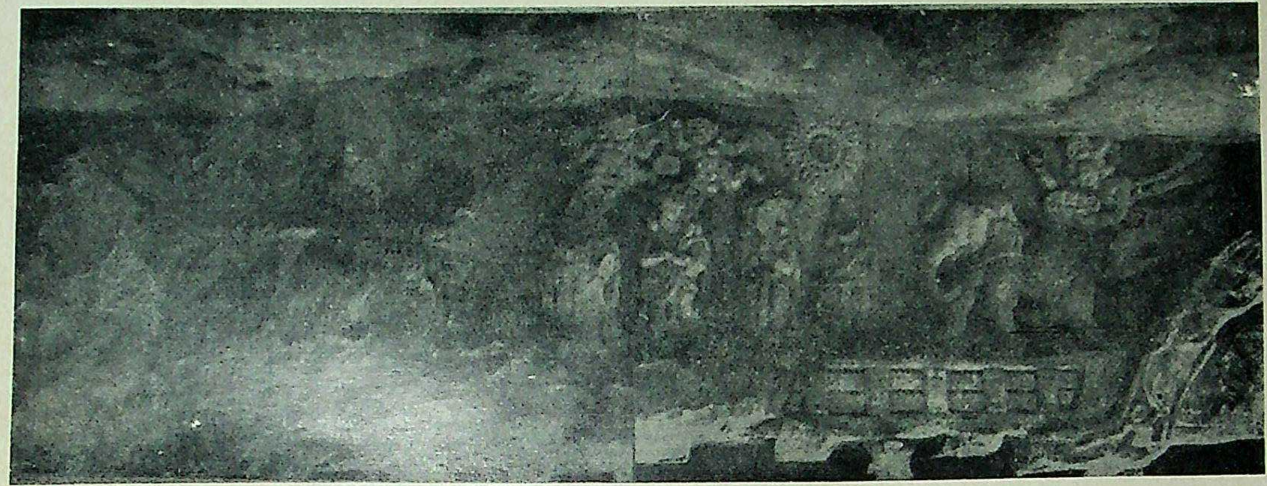
[1] *ASI., AR.*, 1914-15—Excavations at Sārnāth, by H. Hargreaves, p. 111—Antiquities west of main shrine. I. *Maurya.*—fragment, 8″ high, of human figure, life size. The face is entirely destroyed, but traces of the right eye remain. The ears are normal and well modelled. A mural crown of seven merlons, above a wreath of laurel, hides the hair save for a few short curls on the forehead. The head was apparently modelled in the round and is polished in the usual Maurya fashion. The statue, however, does not seem to have been intended to be visible on all sides, as five inches of the back are left unpolished. The stone is a fine speckled sandstone of a light grey colour, but the outer surface, where not concealed by a calcareous deposit, is of a blackish hue as though affected by fire which has also diminished its original polish. The lines of the figure are robust and life-like. Traces of drapery at the base of the neck. The top of the head and upper edges of merlons, which would be invisible when the statue was in position, are left unpolished, (pl. XVI, 4).

[2] R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, vol. I, pp. 81, 91.

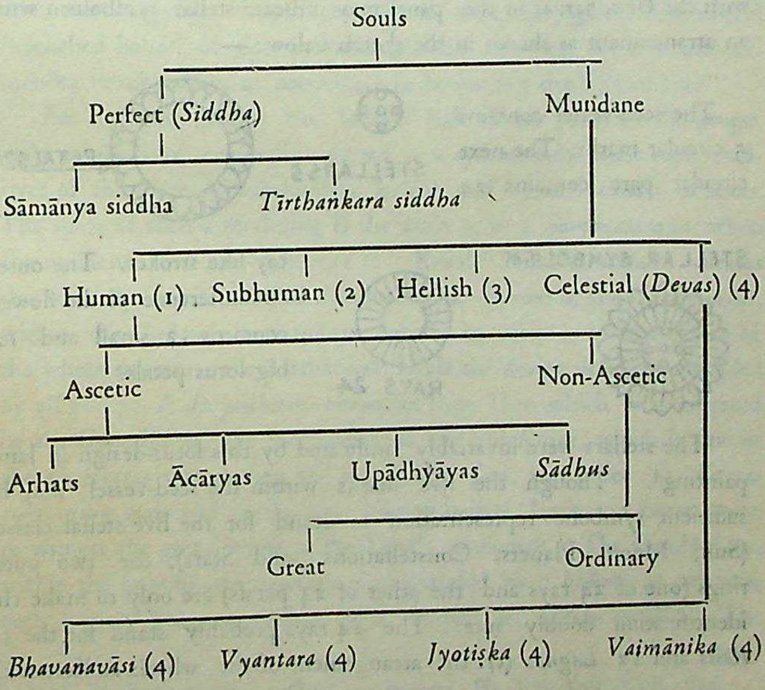
PLATE I.



Samavasaraṇa of a Tirthaṅkara or reinstallation of the image of Kaliṅga-Jina: Mañcapuri Cave 2nd-1st century B.C

IHQ., JUNE, 1951.

vigorous elephant exhibiting eagerness to participate in the adoration (*cf*. Nalagiri in "the life of Buddha" for animal intelligence). Behind the elephant is a hovering *Vidyādhara* hurrying to the same scene with a tray of flowers and a *clenched hand* of determination, exhibiting the same eagerness as that of the elephant. We will not be wrong, if we assume that the entire scene is of the worship offered to the Jina in which human beings (King, prince and princesses). animals such as the biggest animal elephant (men and animals being shown on the terrestrial plane) and Devas and celestials such as *Vidyādharas, Gandharvas* and *Jyotiṣkas* or stellars (represented by a full-blown lotus which combines the designs of the stars in the seed-vessel, and in the next concentric circle the moons and Sūryas and the external row of big and small petals standing for the rest of the Jyotiṣka classes) participated. For better understanding of the scene certain details relating to Jaina iconography are summarised here. The classification of souls in Jainism is as follows: —


Souls
Perfect (*Siddha*)
Mundane
Sāmānya siddha
Tīrthankara siddha
Human (1)
Subhuman (2)
Hellish (3)
Celestial (*Devas*) (4)
Ascetic
Non-Ascetic
Arhats
Ācāryas
Upādhyāyas
Sādhus
Great
Ordinary
Bhavanavāsi (4)
Vyantara (4)
Jyotiṣka (4)
Vaimānika (4)

The *celestials or Devas* are of 4 orders :

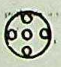
1. *Bhavanavāsi-devas* who are in turn of ten classes. The 4th class is *Dvīpa-Kumāra* with an elephant cognizance. Does the elephant in the relief indicate him?

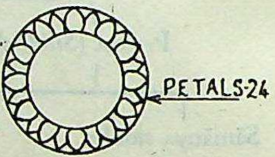
2. *Vyantara devas* are of 8 classes—*Kinnara*, *Kiṁpuruṣa*, *Uraga*, *Gandharva*, *Yakṣa*, *Rākṣasa*, *Bhūta*, and *Piśāca*. The fourth Vyantara class, *Gandharva*, is represented by the drum-playing couple hovering in the sky. *Hāhā* and *Hūhū* are of the *Gandharva* class. Are the two here *Hāhā* and *Hūhū*?

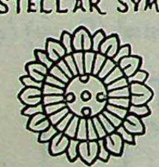
3. *Jyotiṣka-devas*: There are 5 classes of them—Suns, Moons, Planets, Constellations and Scattered stars. Their Indra is Sūrya and Prati-Indra is the Moon.

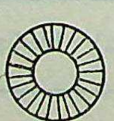
The wheel (*cakra*) which in Jaggayyapeṭa, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa becomes the mark of a *Cakravartin*, and also stands for the Buddhist 'Wheel of the law', and elsewhere for the discus of Viṣṇu, originally represented the Sun. The lotus design in a line with the *Gandharvas* in the panel may indicate stellar symbolism with an arrangement as shown in the sketch below:—

The seed-vessel contains 5 circular marks. The next circular part contains 24 ray-like strokes. The outer circumference of the flower contains 12 small and 12 big lotus petals.









The stellars were invariably indicated by this lotus-design in Jaina painting[3]. Though the five marks within the seed-vessel may be sufficient symbolic representation to stand for the five stellar classes (Sun, Moon, Planets, Constellations, and Stars), the two outer rings (one of 24 rays and the other of 24 petals) are only to make the identification doubly sure. The 24 rays probably stand for the 12 *Rāśis* and 12 *Lagnas* (*cf.* the arrangement of the wheels at Konarak).

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[3] Cf. T. N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikunṛam and its temples*, pl. XVI, (*Samavasaraṇa*) and pl. XIX, fig. 45.

The outer 24 petals probably indicate the same or stand for the Sūryas and Candras of Jainism. The marks within the seed-vessel perhaps stand for stars.

4. *Vaimānikas* constitute the 4th order of *Devas*. There are 12 sub-classes of *Vaimānikas*, each with an Indra. The first and the most important is Saudharmendra of the first and principal heaven Sudharma. He corresponds to the Hindu Devendra and his wife is Śacī. This Saudharmendra is the most important in Jaina iconography, being the one commonly sculptured. He is frequently figured (sometimes with Śacī) on ceilings and on the lower jambs of the doorways of temples. He attends on the Tīrthaṅkaras throughout their career[4]. Sometimes he is associated with flowers[5]. He is always described in Jaina works as anxious not to miss any important event in the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras and ever desirous of taking the lead in honouring the Tīrthaṅkaras (whether it be just the *Janmābhiṣeka* or the *Kevala-jñāna* or *Samavasaraṇa* stages in the career of the Tīrthaṅkaras). In the light of these remarks I am inclined to take the hurrying Vidyādhara figure with the tray of flowers and "clenched hand" of determination as just standing for our Saudharmendra "ever zealous to participate in honouring the Tīrthaṅkara".

For the same reasons the broken half of this panel on the proper right might have originally shown in a symmetrical order representatives of the human, sub-human, hellish and celestial classes of souls. The spirit of such a rendering is the same as in a *Samavasaraṇa* when the moment the Jina becomes a "Kevalī" Saudharmendra creates the heavenly pavilion called *Samavasaraṇa*. Seated in the *Gandhakūṭī*, within the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa* which in turn is in the centre of the whole structure, the Tīrthaṅkara holds the divine discourse attended by all pomp. A *divyadhvani* emanates from Him which is interpreted by the *Gaṇadharas*, the occupants of the first *Koṣṭa*, which is one of the 12 *Koṣṭas* surrounding the seat of the Jina, the other 11 *Koṣṭas* containing gods and goddesses, human beings, birds and beasts come to witness the grand scene of the Lord's discourse. The *Gandhakūṭi*, within the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa* is surrounded by 7 *bhūmis* or regions, each region being encircled by a rampart or *vedikā* or *śālā*. The

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[4] T. N. Ramachandran, *Tiruparuttikunṛam*, Pls. VII, XVI, XVII. XIX.

[5] *Ibid*., Pl. XVII.

Bhavyas or the faithful have to pass through these regions before they repair to their respective *Koṣṭas* in the *Lakṣmīvara-maṇḍapa*.

Either the scene represented here is the Jina's *Samavasaraṇa*, or if it protrays any special historical event, it perhaps represents the celebration and re-installation of the *Kaliṅga-Jina*, of which Khāravela was the fortunate author. In the latter case the royal personages may be Khāravela and Kudepasiri or Kudepasiri and the Kumāra (Vaḍukha). Kudepasiri who provided the *leṇa* evidently had this important event carved on the *leṇa's* façade. The flying figure with the tray of flowers may then just be a *Vidyādhara*. But if it is a "Samavasaraṇa" then the flying figure is Saudharmendra who is credited with the formation and organisation of every detail of a *Samavasaraṇa*.

Summary of Paper

A carving of outstanding historical and iconographic importance on the façade of the Jaina cave called locally "Mañcapuri cave' in Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri, near Bhuvaneswar in Orissa is identified in this paper as either representing:

1. the *Samavasaraṇa* scene of every Tirthaṅkara arranged by Saudharmendra, or as
2. representing the celebration and re-installation of the Image of Kaliṅga-Jina, by the Kaliṅga King Khāravela of the 2nd-1st century B.C.

In the latter case the royal personages portrayed may be Kharavela and Kudepasiri or Kudepasiri and Kumāra Vaḍukha. The carving dates from at least the 1st. century B.C.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

The Srāddhasāgara of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa

(*a spurious work*)

The Calcutta Sanskrit College was founded in 1824 A.D. and from its very start a library was formed under the charge of a celebrated scholar Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Nyāyālaṅkāra, the first Librarian of the college (1824-31 A.D.). Printed books and manuscripts were collected for the library and it appears that many manuscripts were transcribed from rare originals, which apparently could not be procured for the library. It is thus that a copy of the extremely rare book, the *Śrāddhasāgara* of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, was secured and fortunately this copy is still preserved in the Ms. collection of the college. No second copy of this book has yet been discovered. After a thorough examination of the book[1] we were simply struck dumb by the amazing fraud that has duped scholars for over a century. MM. Dr. Kane secured a transcript of the book and without any suspicion gave a short analysis in his *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol. I, pp. 361-2). He has, moreover, culled the rare references found in the *Śrāddhasāgara* and included them unfortunately in the two valuable appendices of his great work. We understand an eminent scholar and calligraphist of the above college transcribed the book again at the suggestion of a former Principal.

As the book has been very imperfectly described in the *Descriptive Catalogue* (Vol. II, Smṛti Mss., 1898, pp. 405-6)[2] we add here a short note on the manuscript. It is written on very good paper, the makers and date of which are found in the watermark as 'Ruse & Turners 1825.' The total number of folios is 96 (and not 86) the page marks 63-72 occurring twice by mistake. On the cover of the last folio there is a date '29 March 1828,' evidently the date of the transcript, which bore the number 899 originally. The number of lines in a page is 8-9. A portion of the text, beginning with a quotation from *Laghu-Hārīta* in fol. 56a (line 3) and ending with the word 'darśayati' in fol. 61a (line 8)—the section on *Ekoddiṣṭa* is included in this portion—is wrongly repeated below in fol. 71a (l.6) to 77a (l.1). Marginal notes prove that this duplication existed in the original manuscript.

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[1] We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to Dr. S. Bhaduri M.A., Ph.D., the present Principal of the Sanskrit College. Calcutta, for allowing us all facilities to examine this manuscript.

[2] This catalogue was prepared under Govt. orders by two eminent scholars, Pandit Hrishikesa Sastri and Prof. Siva Chandra Gui. It is extremely surprising that Pandit Sastri, who was well-read in the Smṛti literature of Bengal and brought out the excellent *Vaṅgavāsī* editions of Raghunandana's important works, could not detect the fraud as he should have done easily. Work under Govt. orders seems never to have inspired the necessary care and industry of specialists in those days and the above catalogue stands in our opinion as an example of huge waste of public funds. It is full of mistakes and not a single manuscript mechanically described in it seems to have been carefully examined and analysed by the cataloguers.

The text proper, beginning with the sentence तथा च मनुः श्राद्धशब्दं कर्म्म प्रोवाच is preceded by the following four introductory verses.

ॐ नमो महामायायै । विलोक्य धर्म्मशास्त्राणि वेदार्थानि च तत्त्वतः[3] ।
क्रियते स्मृतितन्त्राणां सागरश्च मयाधुना ॥
समीक्ष्य तन्त्राणि मया मुनीनां यदत्र भट्टादिभिरुक्तमेतत् ।
न तन्मनोहारि सतां कदाचित् सम्भाव्यते मे वचन-प्रमाण ॥
कल्लुकेन मया ज्ञात स्मृतिकारणं ।
तदर्थं क्रियते धीरा दुष्यं ज्ञानसमाधिना ॥
विवादसागरो ज्ञेयस्तथा श्राद्धपदस्य च ।
अशौचसागरश्चापि क्रियते पितुराजया ॥

The colophon gives the name of the author clearly as 'Mahāmahopādhyaya-Śrīmat-Kullūkabhaṭṭa.' Before subjecting the verses to a critical analysis it is necessary to examine the portion of the text printed in the Descriptive Catalogue. Any scholar acquainted with the classical works of the Bengal school of *Navyasmṛti* will find out with great surprise that the five lines at the beginning and the fourteen lines at the end almost exactly agree with the beginning and end of the *Śraddhaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi Mahāmahopādhyāya, who was really the founder of *Navyasmṛti* in Bengal. The variations are noted below. The head lines of Śūlapāṇi's text अथ श्राद्धलक्षणम् । तत्र कल्पतरुः are omitted in the present work. There is a small section द्विपितृकश्राद्ध in Śūlapāṇi (pp. 210-13 of an old edition with Śrīkṛṣṇa's commentary in our possession); this is omitted in the present work and the reason is stated in four lines at the end (before the फलश्रुति, also exactly borrowed from Śūlapāṇi) in very incorrect Sanskrit with an amazing reference to 'Kayīṭa-Kamalākara-Bhaṭṭabhāṣyāsmadgurucaraṇādi' for support. The ugly handiwork of a bold adventurer, who selected the *magnum opus* of Śūlapāṇi for his very curious pranks, is easily discernible from the very start. The first foot of the first introductory verse, which is exactly taken from Śūlapāṇi, is about the only correct phrase found in the introduction. The second and third verses constitute a curious jargon absolutely unintelligible and the use of the assertive first person ('mayā') in the first three verses, absolutely incompatible with the consummate scholarship of Kullūka or Śūlapāṇi, lets down the actual author of this piece of forgery to the level of a dunce without any real knowledge of the sacred language.

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[3] The learned editors of the Catalogue were unable apparently to transcribe the glaring mistake of gender in the second foot of the verse and changed the letter 'ca' (which cannot be mistaken in the manuscript) into 'va,' which, however, is not calculated to improve the sense in any way.

Fictitious references : The copy of the *Śrāddhasāgara* turns out on examination to be really a transcript of the *Śrāddhaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi slightly re-arranged and the only dodge adopted by the forgerer is to concoct an array of fictitious names of authorities and interpolate them randomly within the text. The amazing set of these names is noted down below.

(1) Kayīṭabhaṭṭa is quoted five times. After recording his own definition of the term 'śrāddha' Śūlapāṇi discusses in a brilliant passage the three alternatives about the technical nature of the term—whether it is a 'yāga,' a 'dāna' or 'homa.' The first alternative is stated under the caption 'Atra kaścit' and refuted by Śūlapāṇi. As far as we are aware no commentator has recovered the name of this unknown scholar. The name 'Kayīṭabhaṭṭa,' absolutely unknown in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature of India, is substituted here for 'kaścit' (fol. 2a) and this is, it should be noted, the only interpolation found in the first 33 foll. of the *Śrāddhasāgara*, which forms an exact transcript of the *Śrāddhaviveka* up to the section on 'Amāvasyā.' In an interesting section Śūlapāṇi discusses in his own brilliant manner the problem of preference between the two important parts of the ceremony, viz. 'Brāhmaṇa-bhojana' and 'Piṇḍadāna.' The former is preferred by Govindarāja (p. 191), the latter by an unknown scholar ('ity-aparaḥ') not specified by any commentator and both given equal status by Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa etc. The *Śrāddhasāgara* adds the epithet 'Gauḍa' to Govindarāja and substitutes Kayīṭabhaṭṭa for 'aparaḥ' (fol. 48b). Śūlapāṇi's own views in the matter agree with Govindarāja but on different grounds. How recklessly the *Śrāddhasāgara* has been ascribed to Kullūkabhaṭṭa will become evident when it is found that

under Manu III. 128 Kullūka discusses the same problem concisely and following the views of the *Kalpataru* (cited in the very beginning of the *Śrāddhaviveka*) decides against those of Govindarāja ('nedaṃ Brāhmaṇa-bhojanaṃ' is the last foot of his concluding verse here) and against the more advanced arguments of himself, if the *Śrāddhasāgara* is genuinely ascribed to him. Similarly the name Kayīṭabhaṭṭa is substituted for 'kaścit' (under *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, p. 258 and also under *Vṛddhiśrāddha*, p. 292: fol. 77b and 72a). The last reference to this fictitious name is towards the end (fol. 85b) and printed in the Descriptive Catalogue with the suggestion that it is a miselection for Kaiyaṭa, though the latter name is equally unknown in the *Dharmaśāstra* literature of India. There is, however, a method in this mad forgery, for, in all the five places, the name is clearly spelt as Kayīṭa without the least hesitation.

(2) Prabhākara: only once interpolated under Śrāddha-devatāḥ (p. 173), where Śūlapāṇi gives the heading 'Atra Kalpataruḥ.' The senseless improvement in the *Śrāddhasāgara* here (fol. 42a) is 'Atra *Kalpataru-Prabhākara-Kamalākarabhaṭṭāḥ*.' The passage, it should be noticed, conflicts with the views of the great Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa as found in the *Nirṇayasindhu* (Chowk. ed., p. 1410).

(3) Kamalākarabhaṭṭa: there are five more references to him in the *Śrāddhasāgara* (*vide* fol. 54b, 68a, 70a, 84b & 85b). In the corresponding passages of the *Śrāddhaviveka* no scholar is at all referred to in the mention of the different alternatives (p. 210) in the first case, though it agrees, quite accidentally no doubt, with the views in the *Nirṇayasindhu* (pp. 1756 & 1762); in the second and fourth cases the name replaces 'eke' (pp. 246 & 278) and in the third case it replaces 'Halāyudhastu' (p. 289). The last reference towards the end has been cited above from the printed Catalogue. The most amazing case is the second one, where 'eke' is mentioned not in the text of Śūlapāṇi, but in a well-known ancient text of the sage Paiṭhīnasi!! In other words the ugly forgerer lets himself down completely when the logical conclusion of the present interpolation places the 17th century writer before Paiṭhīnasi!

(4) Harṣaṇabhaṭṭa: the line एतेन निरस्ता हर्षणभट्टादयः is interpolated in the section on 'argha' (p. 179) after the words of Śūlapāṇi (इति कल्पतरुव्याख्यानमयुक्तम्) refuting an older interpretation on Yājñavalkya (I. 231). The name, again, is absolutely unknown in Indian literature.

(5) Hemakarabhaṭṭa: in the same section (p. 181) for Kalpataru (उपविष्टब्राह्मणस्योत्तरस्या दिशीति) the *Śrāddhasāgara* has 'Hemakarabhaṭṭa-Kalpatarukārau' (fol. 45a), again interpolating a new name.

(6) Gaṅgeśvara: in the next section on 'Agnaukaraṇam' for 'kecit-tu' (p. 183) is substituted the delightful phrase गङ्गेश्वरमतानुयायिनो वदन्ति (fol. 45b), only a Smārta Gaṅgeśvara is a pure fiction and the interpolator lets himself down again by adding the word 'vadanti' which bears no construction with the main sentence इति व्यवस्थामाहुः।

(7-8) Lolabhaṭṭa and Kamaṇḍalubhaṭṭa: in the next section again for 'Atra kecit' in the *Śrāddhaviveka* (p. 185) is substituted another delightful phrase अत्र लोलभट्ट-कमण्डलुभट्टादयः (fol. 46b).

(9) Bhaṭṭa Ratnākara: the section on 'jīvatpitṛka-śrāddha' in the *Śrāddhaviveka* ends with a brilliant summary of all the alternatives ('pakṣāḥ') elaborated and naturally without any reference to previous authorities. (p. 210) Five proper names are interpolated here in the *Śrāddhasāgara* (fol. 54b), forming a wrong syntax with the word 'pakṣa' used at the outset. These are Bhaṭṭabhāṣya, Bhaṭṭa-Ratnākara, Nārāyaṇopādhyāya, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and, last of all, another pure fiction (No. 10) Govindabhaṭṭa. Moreover, Ratnākarabhaṭṭādayaḥ is substituted (fol. 61a) for the word 'kaścit' (p. 228) and for हलायुधव्याख्या निरस्ता (p. 288) we have भट्टरत्नाकरव्याख्यानं परास्तं in the *Śrāddhasāgara* (fol. 69a). In one place after the word 'vadanti' in *Śūlapāṇi* (p. 233) the interpolator adds 'Maithila-Ratnākara-Gauḍa-Vācaspati-Bhaṭṭācāryyāḥ.' Evidently the interpolator mistook Ratnākara as the name of the author (Caṇḍeśvara) of the celebrated digest. Gauḍa Vācaspati Bhaṭṭacārya is not a fictitious name; he was the grand-uncle of the famous Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana (1694-1807 A.D.) of Triveṇī, who quotes from him profusely in the *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava*. *Dvaitanirṇaya* is the masterpiece of this Candrasekhara Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya; it was composed in 1641-42 A.D. (*Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, vol. 49, pp. 10-11).

(11) Mahārṇavopādhyāyāḥ: is substituted (fol. 57a=72b) for 'kecit' in Śūlapāṇi (p. 216). *Mahārṇava*, the long-lost work of Bhojadeva, is often cited by medieval scholars, but Mahārṇavopādhyāya is a crude fiction.

(12) In the very next passage the name of Anantabhaṭṭa is substituted for 'anye tu' (p. 216: fol. 57b=72b).

(13) Towards the end of the section on *Ekoddiṣṭa* (p. 231) a well-known passage of 'kaścit' is ascribed in the *Śrāddhasāgara* (fol. 62a) to a fictitious name Haridevabhaṭṭāḥ.

(14) Towards the end of the section on *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* (p. 266) after citing an Interpretation of Halāyudha-Kalpatarukāra-prabhṛtayaḥ Śūlapāṇi refers to a different interpretation with the heading 'apare tu,' which according to the commentator Śrīkṛṣṇa alludes to Nārāyaṇopādhyāya. The *Śrāddhasāgara* changes it to Maṇḍanamiśrās-tu. No smārta writer of this familiar name is known in Indian literature.

All the names in the above list excepting two (Kamalākara and Anantabhaṭṭa) are quite fictitious. The remaining interpolated references are equally astounding and they completely expose the abject forgery. At the very end of the section on 'Śrāddhadevāḥ' Śūlapāṇi declares a text as of doubtful authority (p. 174:— यत्तु...पठन्ति...तत् संदिग्धमूलम्). The *Śrāddhasāgara* (fol. 42b) puts in a full stop before the word 'tat,' which is replaced by the amazing compound 'Gauḍa-Maithila-Mayūkha-Bhaṭṭāḥ' and a serio-comic clumsy sentence is added at the end:— वयश्च ब्रूमः । अथर्व्वणघराटाशाखिनां कर्म्माणीति । The text of Paiṭhīnasi, where the name of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa was pitchforked, as we have stated above, is cited by Śūlapāṇi in another place (p. 219) and this time the name pitchforked is not Kamalākara but 'Pārijātādayaḥ' (fol. 58a=73b)! A medieval digest is again placed chronologically before an ancient sage. The word 'kecittu' in the text of Śūlapāṇi (p. 226 in the section on *Ekoddiṣṭa*) is replaced by the word 'Miśrāstu' in the *Śrāddhasāgara* (fol. 60a=75b). A line in a long text of Kātyāyana cited by Śūlapāṇi (p. 290-1 in the section on *Vṛddhiśrāddha*) runs: -अपि वाह्नतपुञ्जेषु, नैवेदैयश्च पृथगविधैः Between the two feet of this half-verse the *Śrāddhasāgara* interpolates:— यवपुञ्जैर्विशेषत इति वाचस्पतिमिश्राः (fol. 71a).

In one place in the *Śrāddhaviveka* Śūlapāṇi refers to his own previous work *Tithiviveka* (p. 150):—एतच्च युग्मवचनाव्याप्त-दशम्यादितिथिविषयमिति तिथिविवेके दर्शितं विस्तरभयान्नेह प्रस्तूयते ।) The reference is cleverly changed to कल्पतरौ दृष्टं in the *Śrāddhasāgara* (fol. 32b), but there is no change (fol. 31a) in the important reference to his own long-lost *Gobhila-ṭīkā* (p. 145:— तत्रैव व्याख्यातमस्माभिरपि). The commentator Śrīkṛṣṇa explains the word 'tatraiva' as 'Gobhilaṭīkāyām-eva.'

The real motive behind this forgery seems to be betrayed in a passage which is not found in the *Śrāddhaviveka*. In fol. 67a of the initial part there is a lacuna after the words अन्वष्टका मातृश्राद्धं which are found towards the end of the section on *Śrāddhādhikāriṇaḥ* (p. 285). A previous section of the *Śrāddhaviveka* on 'putrikāputraśrāddham' (pp. 213-14) is found, with a small lacuna, in the *Śrāddhasāgara* in fol. 67b. But in the intervening portion there is a new section, beginning abruptly and quite untraceable in the *Śrāddhaviveka*. The whole of this interesting text is reproduced below:—

निषेधस्तावत् सिद्ध एव । न तदर्थं पुत्रोत्पादनं नापि क्रियार्थं तस्यान्यतोपि सम्भवात् नापि नामसंकीर्तनस्य इति तन्मात्रस्यानुद्देश्यत्वात् एवञ्च पिण्डोदकं वचनमित्याद्यभ्युच्चयपरं फलन्तु नित्यविधेः परिपालनमेव । ननु तर्हि तस्यामेव पुत्रोत्पादनमस्तु पुत्रोत्पादनक्रियाया देशितत्वात् इति चेन्न, पुत्रत्वातिदेशेन निन्दार्थवादे निरस्ते अनिष्टवारणार्थायापत्योत्पादनक्रियावतारात् । एवञ्च द्वादशविधपुत्ररहितेन पुत्रित्वातिदेशशून्येन च पुत्रः कार्य्य इति भवदेवभट्टप्रभृतिभिः । अतएव भ्रातृजोदिसत्वे पुत्रस्य पुत्रकरणं रत्नाकरादीनां मतञ्च सङ्गतं । तत्र सापिण्ड्यसमानोदकयोरपत्यमेव चूड़ाकरणादिभिः पुत्रत्वं कर्त्तुमुचितं । अशौचादिकमपि समानं भिन्नगोत्रस्य तद्वचनानुसारात् ज्ञातव्यं । अतएव पातञ्जलेपि "नाधोगच्छति वंशो येनाशौचं समत्वं याति" । येन गोत्रजेनाशौचस्य समत्वं प्राप्नोति (?) तद्वंशस्य पुत्रे कृते वंशरक्षा भवतीत्यर्थः तदतिरिक्तगोत्रे नायं नियमः । तत्तत्प्रमाणसूचनया एव कार्य्यं वैश्यशूद्रयोस्तु तथा । तस्मान्नरकपातकपरिहारार्थं सन्तानकारणत्वेन भ्रातृजादिकं कर्त्तव्यमेव न तु क्रियादिलोपभङ्गभयेनेत्यर्थः । अन्यत् सर्व्वमशौचविवाद(सा)गरयोर्ज्ञातव्यम् । तथा भविष्यपुराणं, कलौ पुत्रा भविष्यन्त्यपुत्रस्य च नराधिप । वयो मानं यथायोग्यैः श्रुतिरर्थभिवेपितं (?) ॥ तस्मादावश्यस्यापि(?)स्ववंशोद्भववालकान् । चूड़ासंस्कारं विधाय कर्त्तव्यं स्मृतिदेशितैः ॥ व्याख्यातार्थमिदम् अतएव प्राचामाचारो दुराचारो निष्प्रमाणक एव ।
[अथ पुत्रिकापुत्रश्राद्धं]

All the references in this text, which evidently seeks to establish in a corrupt language a certain point of view on the subject of adoption, is fictitious, including the aphorism of a *Pātañjala* (Dharmasūtra?) and the only mention of the sister works *Aśaucasāgara* and *Vivādasāgara*. It may be surmised that the phenomenal success attained by the greatest literary forgery of British times the *Dattakacandrikā* of Raghumaṇi Vidyābhūṣaṇa, which was written about 1810 A.D. and ascribed to a medieval scholar 'Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuvera' and within a decade of its composition became a classical text of great authority on the subject of adoption, inspired the present forgery. But while Raghumaṇi was recognised as one of the greatest scholars of his age, the present forgerer was an absolute dunce. The preference sought to be established in the above forged text for an agnate in the matter of adoption may have reference to an actual case then pending in the courts. We find that a sentence is interpolated in the *Śrāddhasāgara* in a subsequent place with a fling apparently at an opposite party. The section on *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* of the *Śrāddhaviveka* ends on fol. 81a of the *Śrāddhasāgara*, where the following text is added:—

ननु, भ्राता वा भ्रातृपुत्रो वा सपिण्डः शिष्य एव वा । औरसवत सुता ज्ञेया दत्तके च विशेषतः । इति मनुवचनादौरसे देशान्तरस्थिते चेत् सपिण्डदत्तकपुत्रः सपिण्डनाधिकारीति विशेषणाग्रेप्युक्तं । अत्राप्युक्तं कस्यचित् ग्राम्यमूर्खस्य सन्देहनिरासार्थमेव । अथ सपिण्डनोत्तरश्राद्धं । (p. 269 of the *Śrāddhaviveka*).

Kullūka and Śūlapāṇi : A Sanskrit manuscript preserved in an institution like the Calcutta Sanskrit College carries with it a stamp of authority and genuineness, which is difficult to remove even for the best of reasons and some scholars may be inclined to retain a soft corner for such abject forgeries till the last. We have thought it fit, therefore, to discuss an extremely remote possibility in the present case viz. whether of all the fictitious interpolations in the *Śrāddhasāgara* the mere ascription in the colophon to Kullūka Bhaṭṭa may be regarded as genuine and whether in that case the *Śrāddhaviveka* of Śūlapāṇi should be taken as a spurious work. Almost a similar event happened in the case of the celebrated Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika treatise, the *Bhāṣāpariccheda-Muktāvalī*, which is almost universally ascribed to Viśvanātha Pañcānana, though, as we have proved elsewhere (*IHQ.*, vol. XVII, pp. 241-44; vol. XXIV, pp. 156 61), it was written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma about a century before Viśvanātha. The following evidence collected by us in this connection, will, we believe, only prove the impossibility of this suggested relation between the two great names of the Bengal school of Smṛti.

According to M. Chakravarti (*JASB.*, 1915, p. 342) Śūlapāṇi 'flourished in the beginning of the 15th century A.D., if not earlier.' We have slightly modified this authoritative opinion based on sound evidence from two facts which were not known to the eminent scholar viz. (1) Śūlapāṇi lived to refute the views of Vācaspati Miśra of Mithila in one of his latest works the *Rāsayātrāviveka* (*IHQ.*, vol. XVII, 464-5) and (2) his *Śrāddhaviveka* and *Tithiviveka* were largely cited in the *Smṛtiratnahāra* of Bṛhaspati Miśra (Rāyamukuṭa), which was written about 1440 A.D. His period of activity is therefore fixed at about 1420-65 A.D. This is corroborated by the discovery of an interesting tradition that Śūlapāṇi was the maternal grandfather of the great Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (*Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā,* vol. 50, pp. 6-16). Rāyamukuṭa referred to the *Śrāddha-*

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viveka as many as 33 times in the fragment of his smṛti work, when, it should not be forgotten, Śūlapāṇi was himself living. The *Śrāddhaviveka*, moreover, was cited and criticised by Rudradhara (in his own *Śrāddhaviveka*, Chowkh. ed., p. 50) and Vācaspati Miśra in the *Śrāddhacintāmaṇi* (21 times) and the *Dvaitanirṇaya* (Darbhanga ed., pp. 115, 124 & 163), also as it appears now in the lifetime of Śūlapāṇi. These contemporary references to the masterpiece of Śūlapāṇi, who wrote several other works of unquestionable authenticity, prove the absurdity of the supposition that the *Śrāddhaviveka* might be a copy under false cover of an earlier work the *Śrāddhasāgara* of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, never cited by any scholar of any age and clime.

In a few places the *Śrāddhaviveka* conflicts with the views of Kullūka as recorded in the *Manuṭīkā*. We have cited one instance above. One more instance is given below. In the section on 'Śrāddhaniṣedha' a well-known verse of Manu (III. 280) is cited in the *Śrāddhaviveka* (pp. 106-7 = fol. 23a of the *Śrāddhasāgara*) with the gloss अचिरोदिते दिवसस्याद्यघटिकायाम्। This is clearly in conflict with Kullūka's note under that text of Manu: त्रिमुहूर्त्तः प्रातःसमयो ग्राह्यः यथोक्तं विष्णुपुराणे... । As a matter of fact this conflict was noticed and recorded by Haridāsa Tarkācārya in the commentary (*Pradīpa*) of the *Śrāddhaviveka*, written soon after 1403 A.D. (*IHQ.*, vol. XVI, p. 61) thus:—अचिरोदिते आद्यघटिकाद्वये इति मिश्रादिमतं घटिकात्रय इति कुल्लूकभट्टमतमप्याक्षिपति। (fol. 26b of Ms. No. 1591 of Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad). This Haridāsa is slightly posterior to Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, whose views are criticised by the former and as Śrīnātha wrote his commentary on the *Śrāddhaviveka* under the instructions of his father Śrīkarācārya the glorious period of commentaries on the *Śrāddhaviveka* must have started sometime in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century A.D. when Śūlapāṇi might have been living in advanced years. The galaxy of these commentators Śrīnātha, Haridāsa, Govindānanda, Acyuta, Maheśvara, Jagadīśa and Śrīkṛṣṇa in an unbroken line of tradition cannot certainly be looked upon for a moment as producing this vast and important literature on the basis of a spurious work!

Śūlapāṇi himself had the utmost regard for Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, whom he has respectfully cited by name in the *Dattakaviveka*. The passage is cited below as it is an important reference unfortunately missed by the late Mr. Cakravarti. The *Dattakaviveka* is a very small brochure of 17 lines only (each line of about 95 letters); it begins—

विलोक्य धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थं तथा संग्रहकृन्मतं ।
विवेको दत्तपुत्रस्य क्रियते शूलपाणिना ॥

and ends: इति साहुड़ियाल-महामहोपाध्याय-श्रीशूलपाणिविरचितो दत्तकविवेकः समाप्तः ॥ In line 12 the well-known text of Manu (II. 37) is cited with the following note:—इति मनुवचने वेदाध्यायिन-स्तदर्थज्ञानादिप्रकर्षकृतं तेजो ब्रह्मवर्च्चसमिति कुल्लूकभट्टव्याख्यानात्। (Ms. with the present writer; the printed editions and Mss. of Kullūka read वेदाध्ययन—)

The date of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa can at present be ascertained with great accuracy. He is cited by name in the newly discovered *Rājanītiratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara (Jayaswal's ed. p. 2) and the latter's period of activity should be taken as about 1330-70 A.D. Kullūka flourished, therefore, about 1300 A.D. His name is easily traceable in the genealogical works of Vārendra Brahmins, where authentic records of family history are preserved. He was the third son of 'Jagadguru' Divākara Bhaṭṭa and was a contemporary of the great social reformer of Vārendra, Udayanācārya of the Bhāduri family. His eldest brother's descendant in the 12th generation was Rājā Kaṁsanārāyaṇa, another great reformer of Vārendra Brahmin community. A careful analysis of this wealth of materials of family history points to about 1250 A.D. as the earliest time of Kullūka Bhaṭṭa. There cannot be any doubt, therefore, that he flourished in the latter half of the 13th century A.D.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Laṅkā

This is a well-known name celebrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the abode of king Rāvaṇa who kidnapped the beloved spouse of Rāma the exiled prince of Kośala. This Laṅkā is Ceylon, but considerable interest is roused by the fact that some writers locate it elsewhere. Sirdar M. Kibe Saheb read a paper on the subject at the session of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919. The topic formed the subject of another paper at the third session of the Oriental Conference held at Madras in 1925. In his article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Sirdar Saheb expressed the view that the application of the name Laṅkā perhaps related to a hill-top 10 miles from the Pendra Road Station of the Bilaspur-Katni Branch of the B. N. Rly.[1] But other considerations led him to change it to a peak in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain. Professor Jacobi, it is said, admitted that this theory was superior to his own: he located it in Assam relying on a Jaina version of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[2] The theory of the Sirdar Saheb is supported by G. Ramadas who quotes a passage from the Revākhaṇḍa of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* to show that Trikūṭa on which Laṇkā was situated was the same as Amarakaṇṭaka, and of course he also refers to geological and ethnological evidences to support his proposition.[3] J. C. Ghosh adduced fresh evidence in support of this theory[4] and said that in ancient times there existed on the border of Madhyadeśa a country called Laṅkā.[5]

Apart from the Laṅkā of Madhyadeśa there are other theories on the subject. V. H. Vader equates Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā with Maldives.[6] D. P. Mishra says that the location of Laṅkā on the northern part of the Andhra country on the shores of the Bay of Bengal satisfies the conditions generally.[7] David John locates Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā in an island off the south-east coast of Ceylon.[8] These divergent theories to which others may be added, show that a good deal of confusion is bound to follow once we depart from traditional ideas which have held good for thousands of years.

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[1] *IHQ.*, IV. 700.

[2] *Ibid.*, II. 345.

[3] *Ibid.*, IV. 339 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, V. 355-56.

[5] *ABORS.*, XIX.

[6] *IHQ.*, II. 345-50.

[7] *Mahākośala Historical Society*, vol. I. —'The search for Laṅkā.'

[8] *ABORS.*, XXI (1941), pts. III-IV.

It is, however, not possible to meet all the points raised by the different writers on the subject; only the more important ones offering a clue to the location of Laṅkā may be discussed here. There might have been a place of the name of Laṅkā somewhere in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain, just as a place called Siṁhala is found to exist in Western India, and if the Kālājinas of the Purāṇic lists who are mentioned immediately after Laṅkā be the people of Kāliñjar a fort in Bundelkhand as pointed out by G. Ramadas;[9] then Laṅkā, indeed, may refer to a peak in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain as suggested. It may be noted that the Sonpur Grant of Kumāra Someśvara mentions Paścima Laṅkā[10] which has been identified with the Sonpur tract.

But this is clearly not the Laṅkā of epic fame. The separate mention of Siṁhala and Laṅkā in many Sanskrit texts has been copiously quoted to show that Laṅkā was quite distinct from Ceylon. This is hardly convincing for the separate mention of Mathurā and Surasena, Sāketa and Kośala, Gāndhāra and Takṣaśilā, Avanti and Ujjainī, did not imply any material geographical difference, as they were treated only as convertible terms in geographical texts of the Purāṇas. In the Purāṇic lists, Laṅkā is a territorial name and Siṁhala is an ethnic name. As the name of a city in the island of Siṁhala, Laṅkā passed off as a dvīpa, and the two names were used in the same geographical sense: a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* runs thus:—*Siṁhalāṇ Varbarāṇ Mlecchāṇ ye ca Laṅkānivāsinaḥ*.[11] In the records of Hiuen Tsang mention is made of Seng-ka-lo (Ceylon) which included Leng-ka (Laṅkā).[12] From the Mahāvaṁśa and its commentary we learn as Dr. B. C. Law writes, that Laṅkā dvīpa (the lower portion) was one of the main divisions of the island of Ceylon.[13]

As for the sea round Laṅkā Sirdar Saheb explains it by saying that in Sanskrit *sāgara* also meant a lake[14] and elucidates the point by stating on the authority of Rai Bahadur Hiralal that the many lakes which lay near about Amarakaṇṭaka even contained pearls. G. Ramdas offers[15] an even more fanciful theory. He says that the region in which this hill is situated becomes water-clogged in the rainy season and consequently a "sheet of water collected in pits and holes if large enough" might very well resemble a *sāgara*.

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[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 342.

[10] *EI.*, XII, 327-42.

[11] III. 51 23.

[12] Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, II. 233-236.

[13] *IC.*, II. 821.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 701.

This kind of observation is surely not a compliment to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The 41st chapter of the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa would bear no room for doubt that the poet had a very clear knowledge of the geography of the peninsula. Sugrīva appoints Aṅgada as the chief commander of the Vānara forces entrusted with the mission of making an intensive search for Sītā (v. 6) and the information given regarding the course of investigation to be followed is of considerable importance in the fixation of the position of Laṅkā. The Vindhyā range is described as *sahasraśirasaṁ nāmā drumalatā yutam* (v. 8), the rivers Narmadā, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇaveṇī (v. 9), Kāverī (v. 14) and the Tāmraparṇī in particular which empties into the sea (*samudramavagāhate*, v. 17) are distinctly mentioned in due geographical order from the north to the south. Mention is also made of Daṇḍakāraṇya full of caves and hills, the Malaya mountain famous for its sandalwood and the Mahendra mountain which dives into the sea (—*avagāḍo mahārṇavam*, v. 20) at the extreme southern promontory of India. In verse, 9 and 10 reference is made to some principalities of Central India and the Godāvarī-Narmadā valley: they are Mekala, Utkala, Daśārṇa, Avantī, Vidarbha, Ṛṣṭika, Māhiṣaka, Matsya, Kaliṅga and Kaśika. Attention may be drawn to the mention of Mekala, *i.e.*, the Maikala range near Amarakaṇṭaka where Laṅkā is belived to have been situated. Evidently the compiler of the *Rāmāyaṇa* gives no trace of it and proceeds to enumerate the south-Indian principalities of Pāṇḍya, Cola and Kerala (v. 12) which is to be supplemented by the information we get from the 42nd chapter where the poet describes the mission of Sugrīva sent to the west (v. 4). The sea to the west (*Paścimamāgamya samudraṁ draṣṭu*, v. 10) refers to the Arabian Sea. The Nārikela vana of v. 12 is unmistakably the Kerala country, *i.e.* Malabar coast, for Kerala refers to the growth of cocoanuts or Keram. In the next verse (13) mention is made of Muracipattana which is Muziris or Cranganore.

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[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 344.

These notices certainly do not favour the supposition that the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was liable to faulty observation. A vast sheet of water collected in pits and holes is not likely to be mistaken for sea. The assumption that Laṅkā is not Ceylon is gratuitous, is belied by tradition and is hardly justified by available evidence. A well-known śloka of the *Rāmāyaṇa* may be quoted for special attention. Thus Rāvaṇa while entreating Sītā to be his wife says:

> *Laṅkānāma samudrasya madhye mama mahāpurī*
> *Sāgareṇa parikṣiptā niviṣṭā* . . . .[16]

Hanumān makes a similar statement in course of his discourse on the strategical position of Laṅkā: *Sthitā pāre samudrasya dūrapārasya.*[17] Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* while describing '*Purim Laṅkāṁ*' writes: *Mahārṇava parikṣepaṁ Laṅkāyāḥ parikhālaghum*[18] and so with regard to the bridge built by Rāma, he notes: *sa setuṁ bandhayāmāsa plavagairlavaṇāmvasi.*[19] In the *Skanda Purāṇa* and in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, we have similar references to Laṅkā[20]. It is needless to say that all these statements point distinctly to the great sea on the other side of which was situated the great city of Laṅkā.

The contention of Sirdar Saheb and G. Ramdas is based on some references in the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the effect that the Vindhyas from which the Vāṇara forces made a reconnaissance of the position of Laṅkā lay to the south of the Kiṣkindhyā and very near to the sea[21]. The searching party led by Aṅgada and Hanumān proceeded southwards from Kiṣkindhyā and entered the Vindhyas[22]. The statement presents certain difficulty, but Kiṣkindhyā of the above passage has been sought to be identified with the northern slope of the Vindhyas. That being the case, and the sea being the 'vast sheet of water collected in pits and holes' gave rise to this presumption that Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā was situated in the Amarakaṇṭaka. Scholars, however, generally agree in locating Kiṣkindhyā close to Hampi in the Bellary district, and if that was so, the party that left for the south in search of Sītā from Kiṣkindhyā could not have gone to the Vindhyas situated in the north. But the conjecture that the Vindhyas lay to the south of the Kiṣkindhyā receive support from some references in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the 46th chapter of the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, Sugrīva narrates to Rāma that being pursued by Bali his brother, he first fled to the east (v. 14) from Kiṣkindhyā and then went to the Vindhyas in the south (v. 17). In the 48th chapter, the very same position is indicated, for Aṅgada who was in charge of the party that was to have gone to the south from Kiṣkindhyā proceeded southward accompanied by Hanumān and reached the caves of the Vindhyas (v. 2). Apparently, here is some confusion which requires to be clarified: the 'Vindhya parvata' of the above texts is either a textual corruption or a hill, other than the famous one of this name.

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[16] III. 47. 29.

[17] VI. 3. 21.

[18] XII. 66.

[19] XII. 70.

[20] III I. 2. 26 and ch. 7. 52; Ed. by Tawney, I. p. 78, 486, ii. p. 442. See also *Karpūra-Mañjarī, HOS.*, IV, p. 231.

[21] *IHQ.*, IV. 699

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 341.

The mention of Vindhya in the following passage requires careful scrutiny: *prasthito dakṣiṇāṁ diśaṃ Vindhyapāda saṁkīrṇāṁ candanadrumaśobhitām.*[23] The association of the Vindhyas with forests of sandal wood is here clearly indicated. Similarly in chapter 49, Vindhyagiri and its situation in the southern extremity is repeatedly noticed (vs. 15 and 21). In chapter 60, Sampāti, the brother of Jaṭāyu discloses to Aṅgada that the hill in which they are now searching for Sītā is the same as the Vindhyas situated on the shore of the southern sea: *Dakṣiṇasyodadhes tīre Vindhyo'yamiti niścitaḥ* (v. 7). All these raise a strong presumption that the Vindhyas of the above notices refer to a portion of the Malaya mountain. The presumption is strengthened by a reference made to a peak of this mountain called Rajataparvata which was shining like the autumnal cloud: *ye śāradābhra pratimaṁ śrīmadrajataparvatam.*[24] Curiously enough the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* records that on the peak of the Malaya mountain there was a city called Rajatakūṭa.[25] These allusions properly interpreted lead to a very reasonable inference that the Vindhyas of the above texts referred to the hill extending to the extreme southern promontory of India, i.e., to the Malaya hills which reached up to the Cape Comorin.[26]

Other considerations also provoke the validity of the above hypothesis which is satisfactory enough to explain the geographical background of the activities of the searching parties as it is only in this position, the party leaving for south from Kiṣkindhya could have gone to the Vindhyas as mentioned above. In chapter 50 it is said that Hanumān along with his party while searching the south-western portion of the hill lost their way in a cave from which they were rescued by a female hermit who conducted the party on to the shores of the sea which was washing the Vindhyas.[27] But the sea stood like a barrier to the activities of the searching squad which was therefore overwhelmed by a sense of frustration, but Sampāti, the brother of Jaṭāyu, came to their rescue (ch. 56). He was living on that mountain for a long time and claimed to have been gifted with divine sight[28] on the strength of which he pointed to Laṅkā as being only 100 *yojanas* from that hill in which they were seated and further that Laṅkāpurī was situated in an island in the midst of the sea.[29] In other passages it is similarly stated that Laṅkā was at a distance of one hundred *yojanas* from the southern limit of India.[30] All these leave no doubt that the hill or the Vindhyas in which Sampāti was speaking to the Vānaras headed by Aṅgada and pointing to Laṅkā was the extreme southern portion of India. Sampāti's words encouraged the Vānaras and Hanuman was now determined to leap over the entire distance considering that the foundations of the Mahendra mountain are firm and strong. Hanumān took his stand on the top of that hill to take the final jump.[31] Obviously the southern sea touched the fringe of the Mahendra mountain and indeed, the hill is described as penetrating well up to the sea.[32] This agrees with the Mahendra pearls of Kauṭilya for according to the commentator such pearls were obtained from the sea close to the Mahendra mountain, and so the identification of the hill with the most southernly spur of the Travancore hills satisfies all conditions.[33]

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[23] *Kishk.*, 46. 7.

[24] *Kishk.*, 49. 17.

[25] *Op. cit.*, i, p. 136.

[26] Cf. Raghu, XIII. 2: *Vaidehi pasya malayādi vibhaktan mat setunā*, etc.

Another chapter of the Kiṣkindhyā Parva has a relevant bearing on the subject. Sugrī hile giving a description of the southern countries (ch. 41) says that the Mahānadi Tāmraparṇī which entwines the ocean like a maiden is to be crossed in order to reach the gate of the Pāṇḍyadeśa (*Kapāṭaṁ Pāṇḍyānāṁ*[34] vs, 16-18) and also the sea. On the sea shore stands the Mahendra mountain immersed in the waters of the ocean (vs. 19-20). Further south beyond the sea, was a dvīpa to which the attention of the emissaries was particularly drawn, inasmuch as, it was believed that Rāvaṇa, the lord of the Rākṣasas dwelt there (vs. 23-25).

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[27] *Kishk.*, 52. 31.

[28] *Ibid.*, 58. 31.

[29] *Ibid.*, 58, 19-20. Cf. also vs. 23-4.

[30] V. 65. 9.

[31] *Kishk.*, 67, 37-38.

[32] IV. 41. 19-20.

[33] *IC.*, I, p. 251.

V. H. Vader who identifies Laṅkā with Maldives[35] interprets, vs. No. 23 as meaning 'on the western side of this mountain at the other extremity lies an island, and concludes that Laṅkā was in the westerly direction from the Kavāṭa of Pāṇḍyadeśa. The words are: *Dvīpas tasyāpare pāre* etc, and it is difficult to see how the Maldives answer the most crucial point of the above description. G. Ramdas says that the dvīpa in the above passage is not designated as Laṅkā but is merely described as the country of Rāvaṇa.[36] This is, however, highly untenable for the above passage combined with the report given by Hanumān to Rāma after he came back from Laṅkā establishes its identity with Ravaṇa's abode. The relevant passage runs thus :—

Tatra Laṅketi nagarī Rāvaṇasya durātmanaḥ
Dakṣiṇasya samudrasya tīre vasati dakṣiṇe[37]

In view of all these notices all attempts to locate Laṅkā in other parts of India seem to be unmeaning, a great tradition militates against this supposition. It cannot be ignored that Rāma stayed in Pañcavaṭī where Sītā was stolen. The place is now identified with modern Nasik. His association with Janasthāna, the country round the Godāvarī marks another stage of his march towards the south. He went in a south-westerly direction in search of his wife and met Sugrīva near the Ṛṣyamuka parvata and eventually came to Kiṣkindhyā. Thus gradually he proceeded southwards perhaps following a route through the middle of the peninsula or one which lay through the west coast.[38] And if Laṅkā is not found to be Ceylon many episodes described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for instance, the building of a causeway across the sea which has been the subject of many devotional works of later times would seem to be mere meaningless interpolations.

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[34] It has been suggested that Kapāṭa or Kavāṭa of the above passage is Kapāṭapura or Kavāṭapura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas (S. K. Aiyangar, *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 63). [The mention of Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa in the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 86) from which Pāṇḍya Kavāṭaka kind of pearl was imported bears similarity to the name of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But the commentator of the *Arthaśāstra* explains the geographical name as referring to a mountain known as Malayakoṭi (Malayakoṭiparvatotpannam, Sorabji's extracts, p. 17; *JBORS.*, XI, 1925. p. 28 of the appendix in pt. II) which was the same as Malayakūṭa (the name of the Malaya hill). Cunningham says that the name was corrupted into Mālakūṭa and Mālyakūṭa and was used not merely as the name of a mountain but also as the name of a province of Southern India comprising the modern districts of Tanjore and Madura, Coimbatore. Cochin and Travancore (*Anc. Geog.*, pp. 629-31). It appears that Malayakoṭi of the *Arthaśāstra* commentary was not merely the name of a mountain. but the Pāṇḍya country itself. It may be presumed further that the Pāṇḍyakavāṭa of the *Arthaśāstra* was identical with Kavāṭapura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas as implied in the verse. (For other views, see *IC.*, I, pp. 248 ff.).

[35] *IHQ.*, II, pp. 347 ff.

[36] *IHQ.*, IV. 341.

[37] V. 65. 10.

It is a valid presumption, therefore, that the ancient application of the name Laṅkā referred to Ceylon and in Sanskrit Laṅkā is used as the name of Ceylon.[39] We may assume further, as seems very likely, that Laṅkā was the early name of Ceylon and its literary name as well. Mention is made of Lāṅkādvīpa even in medieval inscriptions[40]; the Madras museum plates of Jaṭilavarman refers to the beautiful island of Laṅkā as Ilaṅgai.[41] Epigraphic evidences, however, make it clear that Siṁhala, another name of ancient Ceylon, was equally well known. Thus the Kanhad plate of Kṛṣṇa III has this statement: "from the Himalayas to the island of Siṁhala."[42] In another inscription the king of Siṁhala is described as waiting on the shore.[43] In other inscriptional notices Siṁhala as the ancient name of Ceylon[44] is variously designated as Siṅgala-dēśam,[45] Īlam[46] and Sihala.[47] All these certainly favour the supposition that as territorial names Siṁhala and Laṅkā were convertible terms, although the latter is also used as the name of a city.

Priaulx states and probably correctly that Laṅkā was the old mythological name for Ceylon, later on it was supplanted by Tāmraparṇī, and subsequently when the Periplus was written Ceylon was known as Palaesimundus or Palaesimoundon which itself yielded to Salike, Serendiva the various forms of Pali Sihala or Sihala dīpa.[48] The name Palaesimundon is very plausibly based on *pāre samudrasya*[49] the description given of Laṅkā as noted above. Ptolemy's Simoundou[50] also refers to that name. But in his geography the island is also called Salike which responds to Siele diba of Kosmas Indicopleustes[51] both of which, have their sources in Sihalam "the Pali form of Sanskrit Siṁhala" or Ceylon. To this source may be traced its other names such as Serendib, Zeilan, Sailan,[52] the last one yielding to Ceylon. Marco Polo's Seilan[53] is a nearer approach to the modern name. Van-der-tunk suggests that the name may have been found from Sela or 'precious stone,' and so the island was anciently called Ratnadvīpa.[54] An Arab historian called it the 'Island of Rubies.' The Chinese name for the island also implied reference to gems. The name Sailān also occurs in the works of Rashiduddin, Hayton and Jordanus. Alberuni called it Singal-dīb.[55]

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[38] *IC.*, I. 585.

[39] *Supra*, p. 4, fn. 5.

[40] *IA.*, XXII. 29. Cf. the Belāva plate of Bhojavarman (v. 14).

[41] *IA.*, XXII. 73, line 36.

[42] *EI.*, IV. pp. 278 ff. v. 31.

[43] *EI.*, XVIII. 52, vs. 56-60.

[44] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 186, 568.

[45] *EI.*, XXV. 245.

[46] *EI.*, XXI. 243, line 7.

[47] *EI.*, XX. 36.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the people of Laṅkā are described as Rākṣasas or demons. Fa-Hien records a similar impression. In Hiuen-Tsang's itenarary it is written that the people were fierce by nature, and the country was occupied by evil spirits.[56] According to Pliny the people had yellow hairs and blue eyes and the tones of their voice were harsh and uncouth.[57] The Alexandrian monk Kosmas, the Indian navigator Indiko-pleustes who was a century earlier than Hiuen Tsang relates at great length on the commercial prosperity of the island which was a great emporium of trade and a great resort of ships from all parts of India and from Persia and Ethiopia. Brisk trade with the Seres or Chinese was also carried on.[58] The island was noted for its gold jewels, pearls and precious stones and had abundance of articles of luxury.[59] In the foreign account we read that slavery was unknown in the island, the price of corn never varied, there were neither courts of law nor law-suits, and the government was an elective monarchy, the king being chosen by the people and assisted by a council of thirty. The people were industrious; hunting and fishing were their favourite pastimes and hundred years was the moderate span of life.[60]

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[48] *The Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana* by O.D.B. *Priaulx*, London, pp. 103 ff.

[49] *IA.*, 1919, pp. 195-96.

[50] McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, ed. by S. N. Mazumdar, pp. 247.

[51] *Periplus*, p. 250

[52] *Ancient India as described in classical literature* by McCrindle. p. 160, fn. 1.

[53] *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. by Yule II, p. 312.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 314, fn. 2, Cf. Pārasamudraka of *Arthaśāstra*, the name of a kind of pearl.

[55] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, i, p. 209.

[56] Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 235-36.

[57] *Ancient India as described in classical literature. by McCrindle*, p. 105.

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 105, fn. 4 and pp. 160-1.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 106, *Priaulx, op. cit.*, pp. 96-7.

[60] *Priaulx*, pp. 96-98.

The Arthaśāstra Material in the Raghuvamsa

The *Raghuvaṁśa* is generally and rightly too regarded as the best poetic work of Kālidāsa. Dilīpa's devoted service of Nandinī, Raghu's *digvijaya* and *viśvajit* sacrifice, the Raghu-Kautsa episode, Indumati's *svayaṁvara* and Aja's lamentation at her death, Daśaratha's rule—all these have been described in the first nine cantos with that wonderful poetic skill which puts Kālidāsa in a class. by himself. Cantos X-XVI deal with Rāma's story. It is a great theme worthily dealt with. Poetic invention prevents also canto XVI from being uninteresting ; and Kuśa after all is not a bad subject too. But with the seventeenth canto we reach the lesser Raghus. Excepting the last Raghu ruler, Agnivarṇa, they remain mere names to us ; even Kālidāsa's genius has not succeeded in breathing life into them. The poet carries on the narrative not by recounting their achievements—most probably they had none—but by utilising the current *arthaśāstra* material regarding the daily life and policy of an Indian ruler. And well may a student of Indian history and culture be thankful for the poet's being reduced to these straits ; for though Kālidāsa may thereby have not produced the first class poetry found in the earlier cantos, he has given us useful data about the political concepts of the period. Of this material a little might have been just traditional, a little might have been derived also from some old recension of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*.[1] But that most of Kālidāsa's political ideas have been derived from Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* would be obvious from the passages listed below.

1. *Some politically significant technical terms.*

(a) नियोग-विकल्प

रात्रिन्दिवविभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम् ।
तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः ॥

(*Raghuvaṁśa*, XVII, 49)

कार्याणां नियोग-विकल्प-समुच्चया भवन्ति ।
अनेनैवोपायेन नान्येनेति नियोगः ।

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[1] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 17.

अन्येन वान्येन वेति विकल्पः ।[2] (*Arthaśāstra*, XV, 1)

(b) दण्डोपनत—

तस्मिन् दण्डोपनतचरितं
भेजिरे लोकपालाः । (*Raghu.*, XVII, 81)

लब्धसंश्रयः समयाचारिकवद् भर्तरि वर्तेत । दुर्गादीनि च कर्माण्यावाहविवाहपुत्राभिषेकांश्च पण्यहस्तिग्रहणसत्त्रयागविहारगमनानि चानुज्ञातः कुर्वीत । स्वभूम्यवस्थितप्रकृतिसंभिमुपघातमपसृतेषु वा सर्वमनुज्ञातः कुर्वीत । यथाशक्ति चोपकुर्यात्.....

संयुक्तबलवत्सेवी विरुद्धः शङ्कितादिभिः ।
वर्तेत दण्डोपनतो भर्तर्येवमवस्थितः ॥[3] (*Artha.*, VII, 15)

(c) नाभि,[4] नृपमण्डल—

उन्नाभ इत्युद्गतनामधेयस्तस्यायथार्थोन्नतनाभिरन्ध्रः ।
सुतोऽभवत्पङ्कजनाभकल्पः कृत्स्नस्य नाभिर्नृपमण्डलस्य ॥
उपगतोऽपि च मण्डलनाभितामनुदितान्यसितातपवारणः ।
श्रियमवेक्ष्य स रन्ध्रचलामभूदनलसोऽनलसोमसमद्युतिः ॥
(*Raghu.*, XVIII 20 and IX 15)

प्रकृतिसम्पदः । शमव्यायामिकम् ॥ इति मण्डलयोनिः षष्ठमधिकरणम् ।
(*Artha.*, I, 1)

नेमिमेकान्तरान् राज्ञः कृत्वा चानन्तरानरीन् ।
नाभिमात्मानमायच्छेन्नेता प्रकृतिमण्डले ॥
मध्येऽभ्युपहितः शत्रुर्नेतुर्मित्रस्य चोभयोः ।
उच्छेद्यः पीडनीयो वा बलवानपि जायते ॥ (*Artha.*, VI. 2)

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[2] The Arthaśāstra text is quoted also by Mallinātha.

[3] Mallinātha reads instead the first line of the verse as

दुर्बलो बलवत्सेवी विरुद्धाच्छङ्कितादिभिः
(Nirṇayasāgara edition, p. 257)

[4] Mallinātha gives *'pradhāna'* as the synonym of *'nābhi'* in his comment on XVIII, 20. Elsewhere he renders it as *pradhāna-mahīpati* relying on Keśava who states.

अथ नाभिस्तु जंत्वङ्गे यस्य संज्ञा प्रतारिका ।
रथचक्रस्य मंध्यस्थपिण्डिकायां च ना पुनः ॥
आद्यक्षत्रियभेदे तु मतो मुख्यमहीपतौ ।

But the real significance of the word can be understood only by those who study Kauṭalya's *Maṇḍala* theory in the sixth chapter of the *Arthaśāstra* and give some attention to the verses from it quoted in the article above.

(d) धर्मविजयी—

गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥ ४.४३
अपनीतशिरस्त्राणाः शेषास्तं शरणं ययुः ।
प्रणिपातप्रतीकारः संरम्भो हि महात्मनाम् ॥ ४.६४
आपादपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इव ते रघुम् ।
फलैः संवर्धयामासुरुत्खातप्रतिरोपिताः ॥ ४.३७
यदुवाच न तन्मिथ्या यद्ददौ न जहार तत् ।
सोभूद्भग्नव्रतः शत्रूनुद्धृत्य प्रतिरोपयन् ॥ १७.४२ (*Raghuvāṃśa*)

त्रयोभियोक्तारो धर्मासुरलोभविजयिन इति ।
तेषामभ्यवपत्त्या धर्मविजयी तुष्यति । (*Artha.*, XII, 1)

कर्मणि मृतस्य पुत्रं राज्ये स्थापयेत् । एवमस्य दण्डोपनताः पुत्रपौत्राननुवर्तन्ते । यस्तूपहतान् हत्वा बध्वा वा भूमिद्रव्यदारानभिमन्येत तस्योद्विग्नं मण्डलमभावायोत्तिष्ठते । ये चास्यामात्याः स्वभूमिष्वायत्तास्ते चोद्विग्ना मण्डलमाश्रयन्ते । स्वयं राज्यं प्राणान्वास्याभिमन्यन्ते ।

स्वभूमिषु च राजानः तस्मात्साम्नानुपालिताः ।
भवन्त्यनुगुणा राज्ञः पुत्रपौत्रानुवर्तिनः ॥ (*Artha.*, VII, 16)

(e) लब्धप्रशमन—

लब्धप्रशमनस्वस्थमथैनं समुपस्थिता ।
पार्थिवश्रीर्द्वितीयेव शरत्पङ्कजलक्षणा ॥ (*Raghu.*, IV. 9)
इति त्रयोदशेऽधिकरणे लब्धप्रशमनं पञ्चमोध्यायः (*Artha.*, XIII, 5)

(f) शासन—

दूरापवर्जितच्छत्रैस्तस्याज्ञां शासनार्पिताम् ।
दधुः शिरोभिर्भूपाला देवा पौरंदरीमिव ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 79)
तस्मिन् कुलापीडनिभे विपीडं,
सम्यङ् महीं शासति शासनाङ्काम् । (*Ibid.*, 19)

शासने शासनमित्याचक्षते । शासनप्रधाना हि राजानः । (*Artha.*, II, 10)

(g) वेतसधर्म—

अनम्राणां समुद्धर्तुस्तस्मात् सिन्धुरयादिव ।
आत्मा संरक्षितः सुह्मैर्वृत्तिमाश्रित्य वैतसीम् ॥ (*Raghu.*, IV, 35)

बलीयसाभियुक्तो दुर्बलः सर्वत्रानुप्रणतो वेतसधर्मा तिष्ठेत् । (*Artha.*, XII, 1)

(h) पणबन्ध—

पणबन्धमुखान् गुणानजः ।
षडुपायुङ्क्त समीक्ष्य तत्फलम् ॥ (*Raghu.*, VIII, 21)

सन्धिविग्रहासनयानसंश्रयद्वैधीभावा षाड्गुण्यमित्याचार्याः । तत्र पणबन्धः सन्धिः ।
(*Artha.*, VII, 1)

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(i) भूम्यनन्तरः

भूम्यनन्तरः प्रकृत्यमित्रः (*Artha.*, VI, 2)
प्रथमा प्रकृतिस्त्वस्य भूम्यनन्तरा । (*Ibid.*, XV, 1)
अनयत् प्रभुशक्तिसम्पदावशमेको नृपतीननन्तरान्) *Raghu.*, VIII, 19)

(j) शक्तिकर्षणः—

शक्तिस्त्रिविधा...एवं सिद्धिस्त्रिविधैव...ताभिरभ्युच्चितो ज्यायान् भवति। अपचितो हीनः। तुल्यशक्तिः समः। तस्माच्छक्तिं सिद्धिं च घटेतात्मन्यावेशयितुम्। साधारणो वा द्रव्यप्रकृतिष्वानन्तर्येण शौचवशेन वा दूष्यमित्राभ्यां वापकष्टुं यतेत । (*Artha.*, VI, 2)

सर्पस्येव शिरोरत्नं नास्य शक्तित्रयं परः ।
स चकर्ष परस्मात्तदयस्कान्त इवायसम ॥ *Raghu.*, XVII, 63

(k) तीर्थ See *Raghu.*, XVII, 68 and *Artha.*, I, 12

2. *Kingly ideals, duties* and *rights*

(a) प्रजारञ्जन—

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानाञ्च हितं हितम् ।
नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम् (*Artha.*, 1, 19)
राजा प्रजारञ्जनलब्धवर्णः (*Raghu.*, VI, 21)
यथा प्रह्लादनाच्चन्द्रः प्रतापात्तपनो यथा ।
तथैव सोभूदन्वर्थो राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात् ॥ (*Ibid.*, IV, 12)

(b) गुरुसंमान—

तमाचार्यं शिष्यः पितरं पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनमिव चानुवर्तेत ।
ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम् ।
जयत्यजितमत्यन्तं शास्त्रानुगतशस्त्रितम् ॥ (*Artha.*, I, 9)
पवनाग्निसमागमो ह्ययं सहितं ब्रह्म यदस्त्रतेजसा । (*Raghu.*, VIII, 14)
वसिष्ठस्य गुरोर्मन्त्राः सायकास्तस्य धन्विनः ।
किं तत्साध्यं यदुभये साधयेयुर्न संगताः ॥ (*Ibid.*, XVII, 38)

(c) अरिषड्वर्गजयः

विद्याविनयहेतुरिन्द्रियजयः ।...तस्मादरिषड्वर्गत्यागेनेन्द्रियजयं कुर्वीत । (*Artha.*, I, 7)
अनित्याः शत्रवो बाह्या विप्रकृष्टाश्च ते यतः ।
अतः सोभ्यन्तरान्नित्यान् षट् पूर्वमजयद्रिपून् ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 45)

(d) विनयन-

समर्थं तद्विदो विनयेयुः । (*Artha.*, 1, 17)
अथोपनीतं विधिवद्विपश्चितै-
र्विनिन्युरेनं गुरवो गुरुप्रियम् । (*Raghu.*, III, 29)

(e) विद्यावृद्धसंयोगः—

नित्यश्च विद्यावृद्धसंयोगो विनयवृद्ध्यर्थं तन्मूलत्वाद्
विनयस्य । (*Artha.*, 1, 5)

सर्वाणि तावच्छ्रुतवृद्धयोगात्
फलान्युपायुङ्क्त स दण्डनीतेः । (*Raghu.*, XVIII, 46)

(f) समसेवन of त्रिवर्ग-

धर्मार्थाविरोधेन कामं सेवेत । न निःसुखः स्यात् । समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योन्यानुबन्धम् । एको ह्यत्यासेवितो धर्मार्थकामानामोत्मानमितरौ च पीडयति । (*Artha.*, 1, 7)

न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ ।
नार्थं कामेन कामं वा सोऽर्थेन सदृशस्त्रिषु ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 57)

(g) उत्थानः-

तस्मान्नित्योत्थितो राजा कुर्यादर्थानुशासनम् ।
अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानमनर्थस्य विपर्ययः ॥ (*Artha.*, 1, 19)

श्रियमवेक्ष्य स रन्ध्रचलामभू-
दनलसोऽनलसोमसमद्युतिः (*Raghu.*, IX, 15)

(h) व्यवहारदर्शन-

(i) सर्वमात्ययिकं कार्यं शृणुयान्नातिपातयेत् ।
(ii) अग्न्यागारगतः कार्यं पश्येद्वैद्यतपस्विनाम् ।
पुरोहिताचार्यसखः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवाद्य च ॥
(iii) उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामद्वारासङ्गं कारयेत् (*Artha.*, 1, 19)

स धर्मस्थसखः शश्वदर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनां स्वयं ।
ददर्श संशयच्छेदान् व्यवहारानतन्द्रितः ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 39)
नृपतिः प्रकृतीरवेक्षितुं व्यवहारासनमाददे युवा । (*Ibid.*, VIII, 18)
अन्तरेव व्यवहरन्दिवानिशं न व्यपैक्षत समुत्सुकाः प्रजाः । (*Ibid.*, XIX, 6)

(i) यथार्हदण्डता

तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः । मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्डः पूज्यः । (*Artha.*, I, 4)

स हि सर्वस्य लोकस्य युक्तदण्डतया मनः ।
आददे नातिशीतोष्णो नभस्वानिव दक्षिणः ॥ (*Raghu.*, IV, 8)
न खरो न च भूयसा मृदुः पवमानः पृथिवीरुहामिव ॥ (*Ibid.*, VIII, 9)

(*j*) मन्त्रगुप्तिः—

नास्य गुह्यं परे विद्युः छिद्रं विद्यात् परस्य च ।
गूहेत् कूर्म इवाङ्गानि यत्स्याद् विवृतमात्मनः ॥ (*Artha.*, I, 15)
असंवृतस्य कार्याणि प्राप्तान्यपि विशेषतः ।
निःसंशयं विपद्यन्ते भिन्नप्लव इवोदधौ ॥ (*Ibid.*, VII, 13)
तस्य संवृतमन्त्रस्य गूढाकारेङ्गितस्य च ।
फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः संस्काराः प्राक्तना इव ॥ (*Raghu.*, I, 20)

मन्त्रपूर्वाः समारम्भाः । तदुद्देशः संवृतः कथानामनिश्रावी पक्षिभिरप्यनालोक्यः स्यात् । (*Artha.*, I, 15)

मन्त्रः प्रतिदिनं तस्य बभूव सह मन्त्रिभिः ।
न जातु सेव्यमानोऽपि गुप्तद्वारो न सूच्यते । (*Raghu.*, XVII, 50)

(k) रन्ध्रप्रहार—

रक्षेत् स्वदण्डं व्यसने शत्रुभ्यो नित्यमुत्थितः ।
प्रहरेद् दण्डरन्ध्रेषु शत्रूणां नित्यमुत्थितः ॥ (*Artha.*, VIII, 5)
परकर्मापहः सोभूदुद्यतः स्वेषु कर्मसु ।
अवृणोदात्मनो रन्ध्रं रन्ध्रेषु प्रहरन् रिपून् ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII. 61)

(l) चार-वपन—

(i) एवं शत्रौ च मित्रे च मध्यमे चावपेच्चरान् ।
उदासीने च तेषाञ्च तीर्थेष्वष्टादशष्वपि ।
(ii) नचान्योन्यंसंस्थास्ते वा विद्युः । (*Artha.*, I, 12)
परेषु स्वेषु च क्षिप्तैरविज्ञातपरस्परैः ।
सोपसर्पैर्जजागार यथाकालं स्वपन्नपि ॥५१॥
न तस्य मण्डले राज्ञो न्यस्तप्रणिधिदीधितेः ।
अदृष्टमभवत् किञ्चिद् व्यभ्रस्येव विवस्वतः ॥४८॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII)

(m) रात्रिंदिव-विभाग—

निशाहर्भागान् प्रविभज्य कार्याणि सेवेत । (*Artha.*, I, 19)
रात्रिंदिवविभागेषु यदादिष्टं महीक्षिताम् ।
तत्सिषेवे नियोगेन स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 49)

(n) रक्षा *of* वणिक्पथ—

वल्लभैः कार्मिकैः स्तेनैरन्तपालैश्च पीडितम् ।
शोधयेत् पशुसंघश्च क्षीयमाणं वणिकपथम् ॥ (*Artha.*, II, 1)

(o) कोशसंग्रह—

कोशपूर्वाः समारम्भाः तस्मात् पूर्वं कोशमवेक्षेत (*Artha.*, II, 8)
कोशेनाश्रयणीयत्वमिति तस्यार्थसंग्रहः । (*Raghu.*, XVII, 60)

(p) समुचित-करादान—

पक्वं पक्वमिवारामात् फलं राज्यादवाप्नुयात् ।
आमच्छेदभयादामं वर्जयेत् कोपकारकम् ॥ (*Artha.*, V, 2)
सदयं बुभुजे महाभुजः सहसोद्वेगमियं व्रजेदिति ।
अचिरोपनतां स मेदिनीं नवपाणिग्रहणां वधूमिव ।
(*Raghu.*, VIII, 7)

(q) षडंश *of the ruler*—

मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनुं वैवस्वतं राजानं चक्रिरे ।

धान्यषड्भागं पण्यदशभागं हिरण्यं चास्य भागधेयं कल्पयामासुः । तेन भृता राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमावहाः ।...तस्मादुञ्छषड्भागमारण्यका अपि निवपन्ति तस्मै तद्भागधेयं योऽस्मान् गोपायतीति । (*Artha.*, I, 13)

तपो रक्षन् स विघ्नेभ्यस्तस्करेभ्यश्च सम्पदः ।
यथास्वमाश्रमैश्चक्रे वर्णैरपि षडंशभाक् ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 65)

(r) *Avoidance of* प्रकृतिविराग

तस्मात्प्रकृतीनां क्षयलोभविरागकारणानि नोत्पादयेत् ।
उत्पन्नान् वा सद्यः प्रतिकुर्वीत । (*Artha.*, VII, 5)
कामं प्रकृतिवैराग्यं सद्यः शमयितुं क्षमः ।
कस्य कार्यः प्रतीकारः स तन्नेवोदपादयत् ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVIII, 35)

(s) प्रजावात्सल्य

(i) तान् पितेवानुगृह्णीयात् ।
(ii) निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितेवानुगृह्णीयात् ।
(*Artha.*, IV, 37 and II, 1)

(i) प्रजानां विनयाधानाद् रक्षणाद् भरणादपि ।
स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥
(ii) जीवपुनः शश्वदुपप्लवेभ्यः
प्रजाः प्रजानाथ पितेव पासि ॥ (*Raghu.*, II. 48)

3. *Conduct of a Vijigīṣu*

(a) विजिगीषुरात्मनः परस्य च बलावलं शक्तिदेशकालयात्राकालबलावलसमुत्थानकालपश्चात्कोपक्षयव्ययलाभापदां ज्ञात्वा विशिष्टवलो यायात् । अन्यथासीत ।...शक्त्युदये यातव्यम् । (*Artha.*, IX, 1)

शक्येष्वेवाभवद् यात्रा तस्य शक्तिमतः सतः ।
समीरणसहायोपि नाम्भःप्रार्थी दवानलः ॥५६॥
परात्मनोः परिच्छिद्य शक्त्यादीनां बलाबलम् ।
ययावेभिर्बलिष्ठश्चेत् परस्मादास्त सोन्यथा ॥५६॥

(b) स गुणानां बलानां च षण्णां षण्मुखविक्रमः ।
वभूव विनियोगज्ञः साधनीयेषु वस्तुषु ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 67)

For the six *guṇas* and six *balas* and the time of their use see *Artha.*, VI, and IX. 2.

(c) बलविशिष्टः कृतोपजापः प्रतिविहितर्तुः स्वभूम्यां प्रकाशयुद्धमुपेयात् । विपर्यये कूटयुद्धम् । (*Artha.*, X, 3)[5]

कूटयुद्धविधिज्ञेऽपि तस्मिन् सन्मार्गयोधिनि ।
भेजेभिसारिकावृत्तिं जयश्रीर्वीरगामिनी ॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 69)

(d) तृतीयं चतुर्थं वा दण्डस्यांशं मूले पार्ष्ण्यां प्रत्यन्ताटवीषु च रक्षां विधाय कार्यसाधनसहं कोशदण्डं चादाय......यात्रां यायात् । (*Artha.*, IX, 1)

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[5] The curious reader will find sufficient material regarding कूटयुद्ध in the chapter.

स गुप्तमूलप्रत्यन्तः शुद्धपार्ष्णिरयान्वितः ।
षड्विधबलमादाय प्रतस्थे दिग्जिगीषया ।। (*Raghu*., IV. 26)

4. *Allies*

(i) उपकारे निविष्टं वाशक्तं वानुपकारि तत्
(ii) अभ्युचितश्चाविश्वासो
वृद्धिश्चित्तविकारिणी । (*Artha*., VII, 9 and VII, 5)

हीनान्यनुपकर्तॄणि प्रवृद्धानि विकुर्वते ।
तेन मध्यमशक्तीनि मित्राणि स्थापितान्यतः ।। (*Raghu*., XVII, 54)

5. *A. new ruler*

इत्थं जनितरागासु प्रकृतिष्वनुवासरम् ।
अक्षोभ्यः स नवोप्यासीद् दृढमूल इव द्रुमः ।।[6]
(*Raghu*., XVII, 24)

नवस्तु राजा प्रकृतिष्वरूढः सुखं समुच्छेतुं भवति । (*Artha*., VIII, 2)

6. *Steps to be taken on the sudden death or illness of a ruler.*

(a) राजव्यसनमेवममात्यः प्रतिकुर्वीत । प्रागेव मरणाबाधभयाद् राज्ञः प्रियहितोपग्रहेण मासद्विमासान्तरं दर्शनं स्थापयेत् । देशपीडापहमायुष्यं पुत्रीयं वा कर्म राजा साधयतीत्यपदेशेन राजव्यञ्जनमनुरूपवेलायां प्रकृतीनां दर्शयेत् ।। (*Artha*., V, 6)

बाढमेष दिवसेषु पार्थिवः कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्मने ।
इत्यदर्शितरुजोऽस्य मन्त्रिणः शश्वदूचुरशङ्किनीः प्रजाः ।।
(*Raghu*., XIX, 52)[7]

(b) कुल्यकुमारमुख्योपग्रहं कृत्वा वा कुमारमभिषिक्तमेव दर्शयेत् । युवराजे वा क्रमेण राज्यभारमारोप्य राजव्यसनं ख्यापयेत । (*Artha*., V, 6)

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[6] Cf. the following from the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

शास्त्रदृष्टमाह देवः
अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरूढमूलत्वात् ।
नवसंरोहणशिथिलस्तरुरिव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम् ।।

Here the शास्त्र referred to obviously is the कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्र. The verbal correspondence of the verse with the *Kauṭalīya* dictum is obvious. In the same scene Kālidāsa uses the Kauṭalyan terms, *yātavya* and *prakṛtyamitra*.

[7] We may quote also the verse:

तं गृहोपवन एव संगताः पश्चिमक्रतुविदा पुरोधसा ।
रोगशान्तिमपदिश्य मन्त्रिणः संभृते शिखिनि गूढमादधुः ।।
(*Raghu*., XIX, 54)

(प्रम्रियमाणे राजनि) राजपुत्रमात्मसंपन्नं राज्ये स्थापयेत्। संपन्नाभावे व्यसनिनं कुमारं राजकन्यां गर्भिणीं देवी वा पुरस्कृत्य महामात्रान् सन्निपात्य ब्रूयात्...तथेत्यमात्यः कुमारं राजकन्यां गर्भिणीं देवीं वाधिकुर्वीत। (*Ibid.*)

तदात्मसंभवं राज्ये मन्त्रिवृद्धाः समादधुः।
स्मरन्तः पश्चिमामाज्ञां भर्तुः संग्रामयायिनः॥ (*Raghu.*, XVII, 8)
तैः कृतप्रकृतिमुख्यसंग्रहैराशु तस्य धर्मचारिणी।
साधु दृष्टशुभगर्भलक्षणा प्रत्यपद्यत नराधिपश्रियम्॥ (*Ibid.*, XIX, 55)
स्वर्गामिनस्तस्य तमैकमत्यादमात्यवर्गः कुलतन्तुमेकम्।
अनाथदीनाः प्रकृतीरवेक्ष्य साकेतनाथं विधिवच्चकार॥
(*Ibid.*, XVIII, 36)

तं भावार्थं प्रसवसमयाकांक्षिणीनां प्रजाना-
मन्तर्गूढं क्षितिरिव नभोवीजमुष्टिं दधाना।
मौलैः सार्धं स्थविरसचिवैर्हैमसिंहासनस्था
राज्ञी राज्यं विधिवदशिषद् भर्तुरव्याहताज्ञा॥ (*Ibid.*, XIX, 57)

DASHARATHA SHARMA

Śrīmad Bhāgavata—the Place of its Origin

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, one of the most important of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas, is probably the greatest work on the *Bhakti* cult centering round Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu, since the time of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. The Purāṇa is an authoritative treatise of the Bhāgavatas or the Pāñcarātras; in the colophons of each of the chapters of its twelve skandhas (books), this Mahāpurāṇa is invariably described as the *Pāramahaṃsī Saṃhitā* composed by the great sage Vyāsa (Vaiyāsaki). It is true that this name does not occur in the list of 216 and many more of the *Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās* complied by Schrader, but his list is not a complete one. The name Bhāgavata or Śrīmad-Bhāgavata became so well-established in course of time, that the other one became less frequent and so did not find a place in the known lists of the Saṃhitās. Some such names as Haṃsa or Haṃsa-Pārameśvara occur in the list, and it is also possible that its name is included there in some form unrecognisable at present. Whatever that might be, the work has been proclaimed as the most accredited treatise of the early mediaeval period—it is usually dated somewhat earlier than 900 A.D.—expounding the doctrine of *bhakti* not only in its pristine purity but also in its subsequent development. The much earlier work, the *Bhagavadgītā*, in its elucidation of the triple methods of salvation, the *Karmayoga*, *Jñānayoga* and *Bhaktiyoga*, each succeeding one being complimentary to its preceding one, establishes the claim of the last as the highest means in which the other two, acquisition of true knowledge and performance of legitimate work without any desire for the enjoyment of its fruit, have their due share. But the way of *bhakti* is the most perfect way inasmuch as it can be followed by all—without any distinction of sex, worldly position or caste of the individual aspirants after salvation. Hill refers to Śrīdhara Svāmī, the learned and most authoritative of all commentators of *Srīmad-Bhāgavata* as enumerating 'no less than eighty-one minor forms of *bhakti* leading up to the highest'.[1] But

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[1] W. D. P. Hill, The *Bhagavadgītā*, Introduction, p. 52; he remarks, 'This later analysis is bewildering and unattractive; we turn back with relief to the original gospel of the *Gītā*.'

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it must be observed that it is not Śrīdharasvāmī who for the first time enunciates the multifarious types of lesser *bhakti*; it is the author of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* himself, who while recounting the sage Kapila's instruction to his mother Devahuti about Bhaktiyoga writes about them. Bhaktiyoga is considered there in manifold ways which are classified on the basis of the natural qualities, inclinations and affiliations of individual *bhaktas*. There are three main types of minor *bhakti* which are grouped according to three guṇas, *sattva, raja* and *tama*, each of which again is subdivided into three groups in accordance with the different impulses that actuate individuals to follow the path of *bhakti*. He who has recourse to the Lord thinking himself as separate from the latter with anger at heart arising out of envy, pride and malice is the Tāmasa type of *bhakta*; he, on the other hand, who having the same idea about his not being a part and parcel of the God worships Him in images etc, with a desire for proficiency in the knowledge of words and for fame and wealth, belongs to the Rājasa category, while that devotee is of the Sāttvika type, who worships Him in images etc. for the destruction of his sins, or for the dedication of his work to Him, or with a sense of duty of worshipping the Lord, the possessor of parts, thinking himself as one of these parts. In all these nine types of *bhaktas*, there are present two things, one—the idea of separateness between the Bhakta and the Bhagavān, and the other—each one takes to *bhakti* with particular ends in view[2]. But the *one type* of loving adoration which is described by the author as the highest and most excellent is the *niṣkāma* and *nirguṇa-bhakti*, the characteristic features of which are beautifully described by the author in the following verses:—As the water of the Ganges flow incessantly towards the ocean, so when the loving adoration of the devotee continuously flows towards the God conceived by him as the 'Person par excellence' (Puruṣottama) without any the least desire on his part as soon as he simply hears about His *guṇas*, that mental state of the devotee characterises the *nirguṇa bhakti*. The *nirguṇa bhaktas* when they are even offered such excellent qualities as *sālokya* (living with the lord in the same world), *sārṣṭi* (having the same richness as that of the god), *sāmīpya* (nearness to Him), *sārūpya* (possessing the same appearance as that of the Lord) and *ekatva* (union with Him), (by the Lord) decline to receive them, wishing only to serve Him (to the best of their ability)[3]. In this way the author of the great work goes on to expatiate on the highest type of *bhakti* which is the all-engrossing theme of the *Bhagavadgītā*. A comparative study of the relevant portions of the great works clearly proves that the author of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* was steeped in the *Gītā* lore, elaborately expounding on many occasions the sublime teachings of the earlier work.

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[2] *Bh.P.*, BK. III. ch. 28, 7-10. Śrīdhara Swāmī further subdivides each of the 9 types of devotees into 9 groups on the basis of each group having recourse to 9 different ways of adoring the Lord—*śravaṇa* (hearing His *guṇas*), *kīrtana* (singing His praise), *smaraṇa* (remembering Him) *pādasevana* (tending to His feet, i.e., the feet of His images), *arcana* (worshipping His images), *dāsya* (offering oneself to Him as His servant) *sakhya* (thinking himself as His companion), and *ātmanivedana* (dedicating his ownself to him),—and thus arrives at 81 types of *saguṇa bhakti*.

A critical analysis of the data gleaned from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives us an idea about the place of its origin. Scholars have long suspected with a great deal of justification that the author (one or more of this Mahāpurāṇa belonged to south India. R.G. Bhandarkar was the first to suggest that the verses 38-40 in the fifth chapter of its eleventh book (skandha) allude to the noble band of the south Indian devotees of Vāsudeva known as Āḷvārs (a Tamil word meaning those steeped or sunk into the sea of devotion to the Lord Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu). J.N. Farquhar, after expatiating on the greatness of the work, raises the question about the place where it could have been written. He refers to the identical passage noted by Bhandarkar and suggests 'that it may have been written in the Tamil country'. He further mentions the episode recounted in the *Bhāgavata Māhātmya*, a late appendix to the *Bhāgavata*, in which '*bhakti*, incarnate as a young woman, says, "I was born in Drāviḍa"; after carefully weighing the nature of this evidence he conjectures 'that the *Bhāgavata* was written about A.D. 900 (probably earlier), in the Tamil country, in some community of ascetics belonging to the Bhāgavata sect who felt and gave expression to the *bhakti* characteristic of the work'[4]. Many more internal data can be gleaned from the book itself, which would support this conclusion. Only a few of these will be noticed in this short paper. The word '*gopura*' frequently occurs there in the descriptions of temples, cities and townships, and there can be little doubt that it connotes the peculiarly south-Indian structure well-known from the extant architectural remains of comparatively early period onwards in different parts of southern India. The author's greater familiarity with the south is further proved by his localisation of various mythologies in those regions. In the allegorical story of Purañjana so graphically described by him in several chapters (25-29) of the 4th skandha, the great Bhāgavata Malayadhvaja, the Pāṇḍyan king is mentioned. This Drāviḍa king married Purañjana turned into a lady and begot on her seven children who as Śrīdhara Svāmin tells us are none other than seven Drāviḍa types of Viṣṇu *bhakti*,—*śravaṇa, kīrtana, viṣṇusmaraṇa, pādasevana, arcana, vandana* and *dāsya*. Describing the incidents in the life of Ṛṣabha, one of the incarnatory forms of Viṣṇu (there is little doubt that this Ṛṣabha is the same as Ṛṣabha-Ādinātha, the first of the 24 Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras), the Purāṇakāra says that the great being gave up his earthly existence by being burnt in a forest fire in the south Karṇāṭaka region where he was roaming in a yogic trance. We are further told that the king Arhan of that country misunderstanding the yogacaryā of Ṛṣabha only copied its outward manifestations and misled his followers into the performance of many obnoxious practices as parts of their religious duty[5]. While recounting the well-known episode of 'Gajendramokṣaṇa' (the deliverance of the great elephant from the clutches of a crocodile by Viṣṇu), the author observes that the elephant Gajendra was none other than the Pāṇḍyan king Indradyumna, the best among the Drāviḍas, and a great devotee of Viṣṇu, in his immediate previous birth[6]. In connection with the delineation of the story of the Matsya-avatāra, the Purāṇakāra says that when the sage-king (Rājarṣī) Satyavrata—it was this king who was born in this Mahākalpa as Manu Śrāddhadeva, the son of Vivasvān,—was performing *tarpaṇa* in the river Kṛtamālā, a small safari fish entered into the water inside the fold of his palms. It is needless to say that Kṛtamālā is a well-known river of the Pāṇḍyan land (its modern name is Vaigai on the banks of which Madurā, the southern Mathurā, is situated)[7]. Many more similar allusions of a local character can be gleaned, if the Bhāgavata is very carefully and thoroughly studied. Before concluding my paper, I should like to mention another type of internal data which also lead us to the same conclusion. Many casual references to the forms of different deities are to be found there which are apparently based on south Indian types of images of these gods. The Gajāsurasaṃhāramūrti of Śiva, so frequently to be found in the various Śaiva shrines of the south, seems to have been the basis of this description of the god given in the 10th verse of the 5th canto of the 4th book:

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[3] *Bh.P.*, BK. III, Ch. 29, verses 12-13.

[4] J. N. Farquhar, *An outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 232-33.

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[5] *Bh.P.* V. 6. 7-11. Here is a very interesting way of accepting the great Tīrthaṅkara as one the *avatāras*—he is also styled as a Mahābhāgavata—, and condemning the practices of the Jaina sect Similar was the treatment meted out to Buddha by the Purāṇakāras.

[6] *Bh.P.*, VIII. 4, 7.

Yastvantakāle vyuptajaṭākalāpaḥ svaśūla sucyarpita diggajendraḥ|
Vitatya nṛtyatyuditāstradordhvajānuchcāṭṭvahāsastanayitnu
bhinnadik||

The gods when they were severely punished by the companions (*gaṇas*) of Rudra on the occasion of Dakṣa's sacrifice went to Kailāsa to propitiate the great deity. The Purāṇakara gives us a graphic description of what they saw there in several verses, which reminds us of the south-Indian types of the Yoga and Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrtis of Śiva[8]. In the 21st chapter of the 8th skandha where the asura king Bali's discomfiture by the Lord's assumption of Viśvarūpa is being described by the author of the *Bhāgavata*, the scene reminds us of the representation of Vāmana-Trivikrama reliefs of Mahāvalipuram (cf. the passage—*Jāmbavāñṛkṣarājastu bheriśabadairmanojavaḥ*).

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[7] *Bh.P.*, VIII. 24, 10-13. Satyavrata is dubbed here as the Lord of the *Drāviḍas'—Drāviḍeśvara.*

[8] *Bh.P.* IV. 6, 33-9:—

Dadṛiśuḥ Śivanāsīnaṃ tyaktāmarṣamivāntakam
Sanandanādyai-rmahāsiddhaiḥ śāntaiḥ saṃśāntavigraham
……………………………………………
……………………………………………
Kṛitvoraudakṣine savyaṃ pādapadmañca jānuni
Bāhuṃ prakoṣṭhe'kṣamālāmāsīnaṃ tarkamudrayā

The characteristic description of Śiva may be compared with such South Indian images reproduced by T. A. G. Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pls. LXXII-LXXV.

Instances need not be multiplied. Those already cited leave little doubt that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was composed in the south—most probably in the Pāṇḍya country in comparatively early times. The type or types of *bhakti* that have been delineated there seem to have a southern character, the emotional phase of which has so beautifully been illustrated not only in the songs (the prabandhas) of the Ālvārs but also in those of the Śivā-bhaktas—the Devaram hymns of the Nāyanārs or Nāyanmārs. Well may the author of the *Bhāgavata Māhātmya* say with pardonable pride that *bhakti* was born in Drāviḍa, for here it seems to have attained its characteristic re-orientation.*

J. N. Banerjea

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* (Read in Section I of the Nagpur Session of the Indian History Congress, December, 1950).

Buddhism in Kāmarūpa

In the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa of the seventh century A.D. (verse 3) occurs the word *dharma* and in the Gauhati grant of Indrapāla of the eleventh century A.D. is the description of a spot *tathāgatakāritādityabhaṭṭārakasatkaśāsanabhaviṣā,* "the Bhaviṣā with the still existing charter of holy Āditya (or Sun God) made by Tathāgata" (as rendered by Dr. Hoernle). In his Puṣpabhadrā grant (verse 7) Dharmapāla (eleventh century) reminds the future kings that *dharma* is not to be abandoned. The occurrence of these words in these royal grants has been taken by some scholars as indication of the existence of Buddhism in ancient Kāmarūpa. These are however extremely doubtful evidences (Dr. B. K. Barua: "Notices of Buddhism in Assam," *Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Poddar Commemoration Volume,* 1950, p. 26). Archæology also does not bring forward any convincing proofs. Kanaklal Barua mentions some sculptured images on stones and terra-cotta plaques representing the Buddha which can be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. Below the figure in a terra cotta votive tablet found at Gauhati is inscribed the well-known Mahāyāna creed. But as he has pointed out, these images are of a portable nature and might easily have been imported from outside by itinerant Mahāyāna monks (*An Early History of Kāmarūpa,* pp. 155 f).

Hiuen Tsiang who visited Kāmarūpa in the first half of the seventh century remarks that there was no Buddhist monastery in the land, and that "whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang,* vol. II, p.186). This would show that though Buddhism did not prevail in the country on an organised scale nor was patronised by the king, traces of it were not absolutely found wanting. It could not be said if Hiuen Ts'ang's mention of secret performances of Buddhists is a reference to the existence of some esoteric type of the religion. It will however be wide of the mark to infer that the Buddhists of Kāmarūpa did their acts of devotion in secret "evidently in fear of persecution" by the ardently Śaivite king, as has been supposed (*Indian Historical Quarterly,* vol. XXVI, Dec., 1950, p. 333). That Bhāskarvarman invited the Chinese pilgrim to his court convinces us that a sort of religious toleration was the rule of his days.

An inscription discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in the ancient Andhra country of the fourteenth regnal year of king Māḍhariputa, probably identical with king Māḍhariputa Śrī Virapurisadata of the Ikṣvāku dynasty (third century A.D.), dedicated a shrine "for the benefit of the fraternities (of monks) of Tambapaṃna who had converted Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Cīna, Cilāta, Tosali, Avaraṁta, Vaṁga, Vanavāsī, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and the Isle of Taṃbapaṃni" (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 22-23, Second Apsidal Temple, Insc. F. cited by Dr. N. Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 14-15). It is noteworhy that Cilāta is here mentioned along with Cīna. The Cīnas and the Kirātas together manned the army of Bhagadatta of Kāmarūpa led to the Kurukṣetra war. In the Buddhist *Mahāvaṁśa* and in the Kūrmavibhāga section of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, the Cīnas and Kirātas (*Cilāta* in the former text) are together mentioned (Dr. N. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 17). Dr. Ray identifies Cilāta of the inscription with Burma; but it may very well mean Kāmarūpa, with which the Kirātas have always been associated.

The later and degenerate form of Buddhism called Vajrayāna or Tāntric Buddhism, "a queer mixture of monistic philosophy, magic and erotics, with a small admixture of Buddhist ideas" (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. II, p. 388), is considered by scholars to have originated in the seventh century A.D. It propounded the theory of Mahāsukhavāda and admitted the five *m's* (*makāras*)—wine, woman, fish, meat and all kinds of exciting food as indispensable for the votary. The seekers of salvation should enjoy Prajñāpāramitā or perfect truth that resides in every woman, high or low, young or old, healthy or diseased (Dr. B. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Esoterism*, pp. 32 ff.) This religion, associated with magic and sorcery, at once became popular. It gained ground through the teachings and mystic songs of the eighty-four Siddhapuruṣas and their disciples. The names of some of these Siddhas have been connected with Kāmarūpa in old accounts of them. In the Vajrayāna scripture *Sādhanamālā* (pp. 453, 455), moreover, the four *pīṭhas* of the cult are enumerated as Kāmākhyā or Kāmarūpa, Sirihaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri and Oḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna, Oḍḍiyāna or Oḍryan, *Sādhanamālā*, II, intro., p. xxxvii-n). While Kāmākhyā and Sirihaṭṭa are evidently in Kāmarūpa, Oḍiyāna also is supposed by some scholars to be in the western part of the country (Dr. B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 f.). This view however has met with vehement criticism (Dr. P. C. Bagchi, *IHQ.*, vol. VI, pp. 580 f). Even

Pūrṇagiri is said to be some Puṇyatīrtha (?) in Assam (Dr. B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 43-n). But there is no conclusive evidence to prove that this place was really in Kāmarūpa. It is sufficient that two out of these four places, which were possibly main centres of dissemination of Vajrayāna doctrines belonged to this country. In Sahajayāna the Siddhas likened the stations where the nerve-channels *lalanā, rasanā*, and *avadhūtī* combined in the body to Uḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrṇagiri and Kamarūpa (Dr. P. C. Bagchi: "Some aspects of Buddhist mysticism of Bengal," *The Culture Heritage of India*, vol. I, pp. 312-13).

Kāmarūpa, Pūrṇagiri and Oḍḍiyāna seem to be also centres of Śākta Tāntricism. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (18. 42-44) describes how during Śiva's wandering with the dead body of Satī on his shoulders, her feet, severed by divine magic, fell down at Devīkūṭa (in Bengal), the two thighs in Uḍḍiyāna, the genital organ on the mount Kāmagiri in Kāmarūpa, the navel a little east of that hill, the breasts at Jālandhara, the neck on Pūrṇagiri and the head beyond Kāmarūpa. In another place (68. 43-45) the same Purāṇa enumerates the four main *pīṭhas* as Oḍrapīṭha, Jālaśaila, Pūrṇapīṭha and Kāmarūpa. Oḍrapīṭha is in the west where the goddess resides in the form of Oḍreśvarī Kātyāyanī and her consort as Oḍreśa Jagannātha. It is therefore clear that Oḍḍiyāna at least here is a variation of Oḍra, modern Orissa. Pūrṇaśaila is described as situated in the south. Kāmākhyā or Kāmarūpa remains as one of the indisputable centres of Śānta and Buddhist Tāntricism.

According to *Pag Sam Jon Zan* (index, pp. xli, lv) Saraha or Rāhulabhadra was a Buddhist sage born of a Brāhmaṇa and a Ḍākinī in the city of Rājñī in the Eastern country and flourished during the reign of Candanapāla of Prācya. Saraha or Sarahapā alias Sarahabhadra or Rāhulabhadra was one of the early *ācāryas*, who propounded the Tantra doctrines and practices, and is said to be an adept both in Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist lores. His place of birth Rājñī is probably the small principality of Rāṇī in western Assam (Kanaklal Barua: "Kāmarūpa and Vajrayāna," *Journ. of Assam Res. Soc.*, vol. II, p. 47; Dr. B. K. Barua: "Notices of sorcery and its practices in Assam," *Journ. of University of Gauhati*, vol. I, p. 51). Giuseppe Tucci points out that according to the Tibetan work *Grub to'b* Rāhula was a Śūdra from Kāmarūpa, although in another work *bKa'babs bdun ldan* Rāhulabhadra is a Brāhmaṇa from Oḍivisa (*JASB.*, 1930, p. 141). Kanaklal Barua wishes to identify Candanapāla of Prācya with

Ratnapāla (tenth-eleventh century A.D.) of the Brahmapāla dynasty of Kāmarūpa (*loc. cit.*). M. Shahidullah in his *Les Chants Mystiques de Kānhu et de Saraha* calls Saraha a man of Roli in Rājñī and a contemporary of Ratnapāla of Kāmarūpa (Kanaklal Barua: "The date of Saraha," *JARS.*, vol. II, p. 85).

Saraha's disciple is the famous Nāgārjuna. In the *Sādhanamālā* (pp. 193 f, 265 f) two *sādhanas* are ascribed to him, one for the worship of the goddess Vajratārā, the other for the worship of Ekajaṭā. The latter is said to have been rescued by Nāgārjuna from the country of Bhoṭa. Kanaklal Barua holds (*loc. cit.*, p. 48) that he was "well-known in Assam, Bhutan, Nepal and Tibet though he may or may not have been a native of Kāmarūpa." He moreover says that probably the temple of Ugratārā at Gauhati was built by king Ratnapāla or his successor Indrapāla after the worship of Ekajaṭā (Ugratārā) was introduced by Nāgārjuna. The temple is considered by Śāktas to be *nābhi-pīṭha,* the sacred place where Satī's navel dropped. In the *Ārya-mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa* (verse 900) Kāmarūpa is mentioned as a place where the worship of Tārā led to easy *siddhi.*

Tucci points out also that in *Grub to'b* and *bKa'babs bdun ldan* the Siddha Mīnanātha was a fisherman from Kāmarūpa (*op. cit.*, p. 133). Tāranātha describes Siddha Mīna and his son Siddha Macchindra both as disciples of Carpati. Mīna was a fisherman in the east of India in Kāmarūpa (Dr. Bhupendranath Datta, *Mystic Tales of Lama Tāranātha* 1944, p. 56. Also see Grünwedel, *Baessler-Archiv*, Band V, p. 152 cited in *IHQ.*, vol. VI, p. 181). Jayārtha's commentary on the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta (Trivandrum Skt. Series, pp. 24 25) quotes a verse from an earlier Tantra to the effect that Kaula-jñāna was transmitted from Bhairava, the fearful god, to Bhairavī, the goddess, and from her the Siddha Mīna or Macchanda acquired it in the *mahāpīṭha* of Kāmarūpa (*IHQ.*, vol. VI, pp. 179, 181). Mīnanātha later became known as the propounder of the Yoginī-kaula doctrine, popular in Kāmarūpa (Dr. P. C. Bagchi, *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya,* Cal. Skt. Series, p. 55).

Another Buddhist teacher Padmavajra was the preceptor of Anaṅgavajra, who was according to Tāranātha a son of 'king Gopāla of Eastern India.' Kanaklal Barua seeks to identify this king with the king of Kāmarūpa of the name, the great-grandson of Ratnapāla (*JARS.*, vol. II, p. 49). He also thinks that the Kāmarūpa kings were initiated to the Vajrayāna tenet and in that connection refers to the word *dharma* occurring in the Puṣpabhadrā grant of Dharmapāla as an indication of Buddhism. He further adduces that the adherents of the esoteric sect called Rātī-khowā (night-worshippers), which indulges in the five *m's* and seeks salvation through women, may have been influenced by Vajrayāna practices (*ibid.*, pp. 50-51).

In his history of Buddhism in India Tāranātha describes how in the time of the venerable Dhītika, who succeeded Upagupta to teachership, the Brāhmaṇa Siddha of Kāmarūpa brought offerings to the Sun god with a company of many thousands. Dhītika in a magical feat took the form of the Sun and preached the law of the Buddha to Siddha, who "perceived the truth, and living full of great faith, he built the Mahācaitya Vihāra, gave a great feast to the brethren of the four regions and spread the teaching Buddha considerably in Kāmarūpa" (*IHQ.*, vol. V, p. 720).

In the Tibetan *Tanjur* is contained the translation of a tract called *Dhyāna-sad-dharma-vyavasthāna* by Avadhūtīpāda, identified with Ratnaśīlā of Kāmarūpa (*IHQ.*, vol. XXVI, p. 334).

In the biographies of the Vaiṣṇava saint Śaṅkaradeva (1449-1568 A.D.) is described how he had encounters with Buddhist magicians (*Baudhamatīyā ṭāṭakīyā*). In his *Kīrtana-ghoṣā* he writes that the God Supreme incarnated as the Buddha only to destroy the way of the Vedas and confound people with *Vāmānaya śāstra* (left-handed scriptures). This is clearly a reference to the excesses committed by the Tāntric Buddhists as Śaṅkaradeva himself saw them. He further adds that the Kalki incarnation will descend on earth towards the end of the Kali age and will massacre the Mlecchas, exterminate all the Bauddhas that there be, and establish the Truth.

Rāma Sarasvatī, a Brāhmaṇa contemporary and disciple of Śaṅkaradeva, in his *Vyāsāśrama* (MS., verses 294-350) described how the Brāhmaṇas of the Kali age would take to the left-handed rites and scriptures (*Vāmānaya vidhi śāstra*) and turn Bauddha. They would profess by the Bauddha śāstras and give up the duties of Brāhmaṇas. They would earn their living by performing magical feats with funny idols made of copper, bell-metal, wood and earth.

Vaṁśīgopāladeva (later sixteenth century), a disciple of Śaṅkaradeva's followers, Dāmodaradeva and Mādhavadeva, met with great opposition and bitter enmity of the Bauddhas when he tried to propagate the tenets of Vaiṣṇavism in Asama rājya, modern Upper Assam (M. Neog, ed., *Vaṁśīgopāladevar Caritra*, 1950, intro.).

It is curiously remarkable that the Hayagrīva Mādhava temple at Hājo at a distance of fifteen miles from Gauhati is visited by the Buddhists from Bhutan and Tibet and even from Ladakh and south-western China. They consider Hājo as the place of the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa*. The present temple of Mādhava was built by the Koc king Raghudevanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa 1505 Śaka or 1583 A.D. on the ruins of an older shrine, supposed to have been destroyed by Kālāpāhār (Sir E. A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1926, p. 63). According to the Buddhist tradition, of Tibet and Bhutan, of course, the older shrine was the great Caitya erected over the cremated relics of the Tathāgata's body. The principal stone image of the shrine, called Mādhava by the Hindus, is considered by the Lāmās to be Mahāmuni or the Buddha. It may be mentioned here that the worship conducted in the temple of Bodh Gaya is that of Viṣṇu, but the deity is represented in an image of the Buddha and, curiously enough, Gait notes, the Mahant there is a Śaiva ascetic (*Census of India, 1901*, vol. I. pt. I, p. 361). In the Hājo temple the minor stone images of Lāl Kānāyā Vaṅkavihārī, Vāsudeva and Hayagrīva to the right of Mādhava, and that of Dvitīya Mādhava to the left are respectively called Dorje Dolo, Sakyā Thuba, Sencha Muni and Ugyar Guru by the Lāmā pilgrims. The rock, which is pointed out by the Buddhists as the place of death and cremation of the Lord and where there is the figure of a four-armed Viṣṇu, bears several roughly cut inscriptions in Tibetan characters of the mystic sentences *Om maṇipadme hum, Om ah hum, Om*, etc. The liṅga and yoni symbols enshrined on the bank of the Kamala lake on the Kedāranātha hillock are identified by the Lāmās as a mass of butter which was brought to the Buddha and set down by him there. The Lāmās have thus and thus found a Buddhistic name and interpretation for every spot in the locality. They have made copies of this spot supposedly of Buddha's passing away (called by them Sil-wa ts'al-gi tur-do, 'the pyre of the cool grove') in at least four places in Tibet. They carry off scrapings of the rocks and soil in the locality and treasure them up in amulets to be placed beside their dead bodies as warrant against dire calamities here on earth and transmigration into lower animals hereafter. It is not definitely known if any Buddhist building here existed previous to the Lāmās' fixing on the site as the Kusanagara of the Buddha's *mahāparinirvāṇa.* Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century remarked that from the time when the Buddha appeared in the world even down to his own time "there never as yet has been built one *Saṅghārāma* as a place for the priests to assemble." Tāranātha in the sixteenth century, on the other hand, refers to the great *stūpa* of Kusanagara as being situated in Kāmarūpa. Dr. L. A. Waddell suggests that any Caitya or other Buddhist building must be subsequent to the seventh century A.D. and can only mark a site visited by the great founder of Lāmāism, Padmasambhava, or one of his disciples (*The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lāmāism*, 1895, pp. 307 314). The Bhutanese Lāmās visit Hājo in the cold season and worship the Mahāmuni. Some of them even burn a thumb or finger of the hand as an offering to the deity. This is a general Tāntric mode of worship symbolic of self-immolation in the name of a deity. E. Tuite Dalton went so far as to make this remark about the image of Mādhava: "Its modern votaries have, to conceal mutiliation, given it a pair of silver goggle-eyes, and a hooked, gilt or silvered nose, and the form is concealed from view by cloths and chaplets of flowers: but remove these and there is no doubt of the image having been intended for the 'ruler of all, the propitious, the asylum of clemency, the all-wise, the lotus-eyed, the comprehensible Buddha' " ("Notes on Assam temple ruins," *JASB.*, 1855, LXXI, pp. 8 ff.). The name Maṇikūṭa of the temple hillock also deserves some notice.

The Janārdana Viṣṇu image at Gauhati below the Śukreśvara hill is generally known as Bodh (Buddha) Janārdana. There is also a tradition that originally a Buddhist shrine stood where the temple of goddess Kāmākhyā now is (S. C. Goswami: "Hidden traces of Buddhism in Assam," *IHQ.*, vol. III, p. 755).

Maheswar Neog

Antiquity of Biharsarif

Situated in a seemingly endless plain, which monsoon garishly covers with a green mantle of paddy fields; and washed by the Paimar and Panchane, with the lonely hill, standing as a silent sentinel over vast spaces, Biharsarif undoubtedly has played a significant role in the history of India. Not far from it, is the ancient metropolis of Rajgir guarded by five hills simulating ramparts. Tradition, folklore, myths, and legends; fiction as well as history; different creeds, sects and faiths have vied with one another, in giving it a character and importance, which is shared by very few ancient cities in the world. It remained the headquarters of a district, even when Carthage, Babylon, Uruk, Ur, Harappa and Mohenjodaro were deserted ruins. The name of its younger rival Pāṭaliputra had been forgotten, but eternal Rajgir with its perennial hot springs have remained rooted in popular memory. Close by, was the famous monastic establishment of Nalanda, to which the Buddhists from the rest of Asia came, to study theology and *Dhamma*, from masters of their time. Therefore, the possibility of this ancient city, having the same remote antiquity, can never be ruled out, though exact evidence may be lacking now. One feels casual'y curious to know what this township was doing when the most momentous episodes of Indian history were happening. It may be observed that spade, scientifically wielded, has been unknown amidst over built remains of this proud *Quilla*. But, if any fortunate archæologist ever cares to brave the hazards, inspite of the spoilation, the brick digging, repeated building activities; I am sure, if luck holds for him to touch the right spot, he will probably be able to recover, from the jaws of the forgotten past, the dim and distant antiquity of this city. The brick diggers might have despoiled the Sena, Pāla, and later Gupta stratums; but the Śaka, Kuṣāṇa, Śuṅga, and Maurya levels probably still lie buried.

Magadha as a country is not mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda*. According to the epic literature, Jarāsandha was ruling as the king of Magadha, when the Bhārata war was about to be waged. According to the epics and the *Purāṇas*, Parikṣīta succeeded to the throne about 1050 years before Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha, after the Bhārata war. But the history of *Prācyadeśa* is very vague at this time.[1] The first mention of Magadha in the early vedic literature is a moot point. *Ṛg-veda* (III. 53. 14) mentions a country called Kikaṭa. Yāska defines it as a non-Aryan country. But a mediaeval lexicographer like Hemacandra makes Kikaṭa synonymous with Magadha. At this time it was probably inhabited by the original inhabitants of India fleeing before the so-called 'Aryan' colonists. The earliest dynasty therefore to rule over Biharsarif was that founded by Bṛhadratha, son of Vasu. The historicity of the dynasty has yet to be proved. They were succeeded by the Śaiśunāgas. It is common error to suppose that the dates of these kings are well settled facts. The most renowned king of this dynasty was Bimbisāra who was a contemporary of Buddha, Mahāvīra and Maṅkhaliputra-Gośāla, the founder of the Ājivīka sect. It is from his reign, that the power of Magadha increases, it launched itself in a career of imperialistic expansion by aggression, alliances both diplomatic and marital, which ultimately ended in the grand Empire of Aśoka.

Bimbisāra was succeeded by Ajātasatru, who like Muhammad Tughluq has in many respects been misrepresented by historians due to *odium theologicum*. During these glorious years, when the armies of Magadha were preparing themselves for their future conquests in India and elsewhere, this small township must have been a silent spectator of their *vijayayātrās*. The Śaiśunāgas were succeeded by the Nandas. The Nandas had to give way to the Mauryas. The last Maurya king Bṛhadratha was assasinated by his General, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty. The Śuṅgas were succeeded by the Kānvāyanas.

The fall of the Śuṅgas paved the way of Śaka, Kuṣāṇa dominions over Magadha.[2] After vanquishing the Greek legions, Magadha lost the supremacy in the political struggle. Its political and social organisations were completely put out of action, to be re-organised later. The Kuṣāṇa hold over Magadha is proved by the Saheth Maheth image inscription dated in the 2nd regnal year of Kaniṣka, dedicated by Friar Bala; and the red sand-stone image of Maṇināga and his companion Svastikānāga found at Maṇivāra Maṭha. A large amount of copper imperial Kuṣāṇa issues in the possession of Pandit Amarnath Shukla of

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[1] H. C. Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India,* (3rd ed.) p .17.

[2] Śri Parameshwarilal Gupta thinks, on numismatic evidence that Kuṣāṇas did not occupy Eastern U.P. and Magadha.

Basti proves the extent of their dominion. Gold or silver coins can be carried to distant countries; but copper, which was essentially meant for local use, imply contiguity or political domination. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury admitted the finds of coins as far as Ghazipur and Gorakhpur districts. Evidently he was not aware of Basti finds.[3] A clear case therefore exists for supposing that Bihar Sarif was included in the Kuṣāṇa Empire. The Saheth-Maheth and the Rajgir finds as well as the Kuṣāṇa sculptures at Maha-Bodhi do not exhaust the instances of wide cultural influence exerted by the illustrious sculptors of Mathura. Not far from the neighbourhood at Nongarh, in the Jamui sub-division of the Munghyr district, the late General Cunningham sunk a shaft in the great mound, 200′ in diameter, and recovered a broken statue of mottled red sandstone of Sikril[4] (*sic.* Karri).

The establishment of the empire by the Guptas, the last Imperial dynasty of ancient Magadha, made Biharsarif a part of *Rājagṛha viṣaya*, seals of which have been found at Nalanda. The earliest record relating to this town is the Bihar Pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The inscription is divided into two parts, the first records some benefections; and the second part gives a genealogical table of direct succession upto Skandagupta. The first part, however, has suffered badly, with the result that only very insignificant portions can be read. The pillar is now kept in the Patna Museum.[5] A pillar of similar design, but uninscribed, still decorates the well of the S D.O.'s Bungalow. The fortunes of the Gupta dynasty after Skandagupta and Purugupta, is uncertain and leaving them aside, we may go to consider the rise of a new luminary in the political history of northern India. These were the Maukharis of Kanauj. The Maukhari occupation of Karusha (Sahabad and Gaya districts) and Magadha is more than proved. The relation between the Maukharis and Guptas were peaceful till the reign of Īśvaravarman. But the Aphsad inscription tells us that, Kumāragupta III playing the part of the mountain Mandāra, was able quickly to churn that formidable milk-ocean, the cause of the attainment of fortune, which was the army of the glorious Īśvaravarman.[6] This Kumāragupta is reported to have died at Prayāga. Īśāṇa-

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3 *Political History of Ancient India*, (3rd Ed.), p. 323.

4 *ASR.*, vol. iii, pp. 160-62; vol. viii, pp. 118-20.

5 D. C. Sircar, *Select Historical Inscriptions*, vol. i, pp. 316ff.

6 *CII.*, vol. iii, p. 206, note 3.

varman was succeeded by his son Sarvavarman, who defeated Dāmodargupta, the son and successor of Kumāragupta III.[7] It is this Sarvavarman who is the first Maukhari king to be mentioned in a record found in Bihar, and that too not in any record of his dynasty, but that of his erstwhile relations and now the adversaries of his line. The Deo-Barnark inscription of Jivītagupta II tells us that he granted the village of Varuṇikā to a deity which was formerly granted by Bālāditya, Sarvavarman and Avantīvarman.[8] The reason of this repeated grants of one and the same village can only be explained by political disturbances. Avantīvarman was the son and successor of Sarvavarman; and the reason why a fresh charter was called for by Avantīvarman is explained by the fact that the later Guptas reconquered the territory from the Maukharis.

The fortune of the Maukharis declined with Grahavarman who was killed by Śaśaṅka, king of Gauḍa. Nothing is known about the subsequent history of this dynasty in Bihar; but they (the Maukharis) seem to have left a feudatory or branch line at Gaya, where inscriptions of three Maukhari kings have been found, on Barabara Hills. The first inscription was recorded on the Lomaṣa-ṛṣi cave and states that Anantavarman had dedicated an image of Kṛṣṇa in this cave.[9] The second record was inscribed in the Badathi cave on the Nāgārjunī Hill and states that Anantavarman had dedicated an image of *Hara-Pārvatī* in it. The third record is found on the Gopikā cave and states that Anantavarman had established an image of *Kātyāyanī* and donated a village for its worship. This Anantavarman was the son of Śārdulavarman and grandson of Yajñavarman.[10]

The end of Maukhari supremacy in Northern India brought about a period of anarchy when the sovereignty of northern India was to be contested by the Puṣpabhūtis of Thaneśvara and Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa. After this period light is thrown on the conditions of Magadha by two foreign travellers, the celebrated Hiuen-Tsang and Hiu Lin. The first Chinese pilgrim came to Bihar from Nepal and has left a very good account of the people and the country. "To the south of the river Ganges there is an old city about 70 *li* in extent. Although it has been long deserted, its foundation walls still survive...........It was called

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[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 216, 218.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 225-26.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23.

[10] *CII.*, vol. iii, pp. 224-27.

Kusumapura.........When the old capital was changed this town was chosen, and was called Pāṭaliputra (pura).........He changed his capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra and built an outside rampart to surround the old city. Since many generations have passed and now there only remains the old foundation walls (of the city)."[11] It is clear from this account that the Chinese pilgrim found Pāṭaliputra in ruins and deserted.

Undoubtedly, many scholars have referred to this description of the Chinese pilgrim, but they have failed to take into consideration the significance of the statement. If the capital city lay in ruins, and was not occupied, where was the headquarters of Kṛṣṇagupta or Govindgupta? From which place, the armies of Kumāragupta III and Dāmodargupta marched forth to fight the Maukharis? Where did Purṇavarman, the ally of King Harṣa, reside? All these points clearly indicate that somewhere between *c.* 500 A.D. and 700 A.D., there was another city, which was selected as the headquarters of Magadha country. The seals at Nalanda indicate a new city named Śrīnagara. The connotation and denotation of the term will be discussed in a subsequent paragraph when the ancient name of this city was fixed, but we must admit that there is a strong possibility of the headquarters of Bihar having been established in this city. Its existence at the time of Skandagupta is proved by the Bihar Pillar inscription; and when the fortunes of the last imperial dynasty of Magadha declined, it is possible that to find a more convenient shelter the later Gupta emperors established their *skandhāvāra* in this town, which position it continued to enjoy, till the time of Ikhtyāruddin-Muhammad-ibn-Bakhtyar-Khālji. If Biharsarif was not the headquarters, there must be some other city. The list of names of cities of ancient Magadha is not so extensive that it leaves us any ground for thinking that some other city could have been selected. On the other hand, the find of a large amount of late Gupta, Pāla, and Sena sculptures indicate that it was a flourishing city. Champā in the Bhagalpur district had already been deserted. The excavations of New Rajgir by the late Rb. D. R. Sahni show that after Gupta period the city declined and it was the headquarters of a *Viṣaya*. Mudgagiri is not mentioned in any epigraph till we come to the reign of Devapāla. Uren has not been excavated and unless the sequence of occupation has been established by the spade it would be unwise to infer. Gaya could not have been the headquarters.

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[11] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. ii, pp. 82-86.

Harṣa was the last great Buddhist Emperor of India. Dr. R. S. Tripathi has very rightly observed that "The withdrawal of his strong arms let loose all the pent-up forces of anarchy, and the result was that the mighty fabric of the empire reared by the genius of Harṣa soon collapsed like a house of cards. The outlying provinces fell off one by one, and Kanauj itself became the scene of violent upheaval." In Magadha, Ādityasena gave a good account of himself by reviving the fallen fortunes of his degenerate house. He performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice and his dominions reached the seacoast. This was the last flicker of a dying lamp. The last quarter of the sixth to the middle of the 9th century was an age of frustration and anarchy. Every ambitious princeling of Northern India; marched his army to Eastern India and thus put an end to the political equilibrium in the east. The excavations at Paharpur, Mahāsthāngarh in eastern Pakistan; and Rāṅgāmāṭi in the Murshidabad district; Nalanda in the Patna district have proved that the unstable political condition is reflected in the stratigraphic levels that intervene between the Gupta stratum and Pāla level. The first of these was Yaśovarman of Kanauj whose historicity can no longer be doubted after the find of the inscription of Mālāda the son of the Turki minister of Peace and War of this king.[12] *Gaudavaho* a *Prākṛt Kāvya* by Vākpati his courtpoet tells us that, he led an army for the conquest of *magadhanātha* who is to be identified with Jivītagupta II, whose inscription has already been referred to. On the approach of Kanauj king *magadhanātha* fled, but was made to give battle by the more gallant aristocracy. In the battle Jivītagupta II was defeated and killed. Yaśovarman erected a town on the battle field probably to commemorate the victory. The present name of the place is Ghosrawan in your sub-division.[13]

It is unnecessary to enter into any detailed consideration of the various invasions to which Bengal and Bihar was subjected. The great feudal princes realising the agony of eastern India selected Gopāla as their supreme lord; and the dynasty which he founded, is known in history as the Pālas of Bengal. In the time of the Pāla kings, inspite of their ceaseless struggle with the Kanauj forces, this city was in flourishing condition. The earliest antiquity of this period happens to be not so well known image of Buddha found here and later on taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta; dedicated by *Baḷādhikṛta* Malluka. One likes to imagine in his mind's eye, the scene, the background, the pomp and ceremony, with which this Buddhist general of the effete Gupta empire, founded the image of the fully enlightened one, in the neighbourhood of palmgroves. The image was a small one but the alphabets of the *ex-voto* record are similar to those of Deo Barnark inscriptions of Jivīta-gupta II.[14] In the Pāla period hundreds of images and temples were dedicated at *Uddaṇḍapura* the earliest of which is an image of Buddha in the attitude of giving protection dedicated in the second year of Surapāla.[15] A metal image of Pārvatī with Kārttikeya, was dedicated in the 54th year of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla and is now in the collection of the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariśhat.*[16]

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[12] *Ep. Indica,* vol. XX pp. 43 f., and plate.

[13] Cf. my paper Yaśovarman of Kanauj in *Dr. B. M. Barua Memorial Volume,* IC., vol. XV, pp. 201 ff.

The long drawn struggle between the Pālas and the Gurjara Pratihāras of Kanauj, has already been alluded to. The famous *Uddaṇḍapura* did not escape from receiving the victorious legions of these kings. An image of Buddha was dedicated in the 4th year of the reign of Mahendrapāla and was found in Bihar but is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It is a small image of Buddha standing in the gift bestowing attitude with an attendant on the proper left side. In fact it is a single incident image showing the taming of the mad elephant Nālagiri.[17] Another image dedicated in the 10th regnal year of the same monarch was found by the late Dr. H. Sastri and is now displayed in the Archæological Museum at Nalanda. It is also a single incident image, representing the preaching of the first sermon at Sarnath.[18] The whole material of eastern expansion of the Gurjara empire in eastern India has been dealt with by me elsewhere.[19]

In the 13th regnal year of Vigrahapāla III we find that an image of

[14] R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculptures* p. 25 pl. vii (d).

[15] T. Bloch-*Sup. Cat. of the Arch. Coll. in the Indian Museum* p. 52; no. 3764. Banerji—*Ibid.*, pl. ii, (c).

[16] *IA.*, vol. xlvii, 1918, p. 110. *Ibid*, pl. iii, (a & b).

[17] *AR., ASI.*, 1923-24, p. 102, pl. xxxvi (v).

[18] *MASI.*, No. 66, pp. 105-6.

[19] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 9th session, Patna; p. 180 f.

Buddha was dedicated here. It is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Apart from this, the city has contributed images depicting various other scenes of Buddha's life such as Miracles of Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī and Bodhisattva images. In fact before the excavations of Nalanda, and parenthetically it might be added that Nalanda has been very poor in furnishing stone sculptures, this city was the most renowned for enabling the scholars to form an estimate of the merits and demerits of the mediæval sculptures in Bihar and Bengal. All these go to show, that the city apart from being a great centre of Buddhist learning, was a city of no small distinction, as images of Brahmanical and Jain faiths have also been found in the ruins of the old city. That brings me to my next point the extent of the city.

The chief difficulty about the extent of the city is that several of our independent informants contradict each other. First of these, is the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who mentions the lonely hill of Biharsarif on his way back from Indraśālāguha to Munghyr. At this time it does not seem to have been a bare hill with no shrubs or jungle. We are informed that celebrated flowers and pure fountains of water were the characteristics of the solitary hill. On this hill traditions ascribed a temple alluded to have been erected by a king of Ceylon.[20] But the most heartbreaking fact about this account is, that it does not mention any city in the neighbourhood, though we know of its existence from the Bihar Pillar inscription of Skandagupta. The same is the case with Tāranātha the Tibetan historian, who mentions the *Vihāra* of Otantapura but neither the city nor the hill containing the Ceylonese temple. The third account comes from Minhāj-uddin Sirāj, the historiographer of the new muslim kingdom in eastern India. He speaks of a fortified monastic complex with a city but forgets to mention any hill which the muslim invaders had to climb before reaching the gate of Adwand Bihar which was taken by storm. The prevalent idea, that it was only a Buddhist *Vihāra* is not quite correct, as is evident from large collection of Hindu and Jain images found there. The extensive ruins of the so called *Quilla*, within a double walled rampart, clearly testify to a large straggling city, with suburbs beyond the moat, which had connection with the Paimar and Panchane.

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[20] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. ii, p. 183 f..

The prevalent assumption that the city was confined within the limits of the wall is wrong. The area now occupied by the Mathuria Moha'la, Zenana Hospital, Bhainsāsura, Chaukhaṇḍi Mohalla—principally now occupied by the houses of the Suchanti family contain ancient ruins. Particularly, the high level on which the house of Śrī-Lakshmichand Suchanti, and others are built are ancient structures. Throughout Chaukhaṇḍi Mohalla you can come across most lovely but fragmentary images or architectural fragments of the Pāla and Sena period. The images in the *Baḍi Saṅgat* in the Chowk area, as well as the pillars indicate the existence of earlier structures in the neighbourhood. The same is the case with the *Choṭi-Saṅgat* situated in a lane, leading from the house of Śrī Chunilal Rastogi, in the Mathuria Moha'la, to the station. One piece particularly depicting the river goddess *Yamunā* standing on the Tortoise, and another piece showing the monkey jumping into the well after giving the honey-bowl to the Buddha are indeed of great merit. While the last piece prove that there was not only overflow of population, outside the city wall, but, religious structures of no mean importance, were erected outside it; and these were Brahminical, Jain and Buddhist. This very important topographical feature of the ruins of this ancient city has not been noticed by any previous writer except Cunningham.

The only point that now remains to be discussed is the name. Tāranātha, the *ex-voto* records on the images state that the *Vihara* was known as Uddaṇḍapura which Tibetans ca'led Odantapura and muslims Adwand-Bihar. The late Dr. H. P. Sastri and late Dr. S. K. Aiyaṅgar, under a misapprehension, identified Uddaṇḍapura with *Daṇḍabhukti* a country mentioned in the records of Rājendra Cola, the great Cola Emperor. But R. D. Banerji, Dr. Nilkantha Sastri and myself held that phonetical as we'l as historico-geographical reasons made it possible for Daṇḍabhukti to be identical with Dātan, in the Midnapur district, while Biharsarif, should be identified with Uddaṇḍapura.[21] After the find of Īrda copper p!ate of Nayapāla where Daṇḍabhukti is mentioned as a *maṇḍala* in the Vardhamāna *bhukti* the identification can no longer be challenged.[22] The prevalent belief however has been that Uddaṇḍapura was the name of the place like Nalanda, Vikramaśīlā, Oḍḍiyāṇa etc. It was probably the name of the principal Buddhist shrine, which was also a great centre of learning, another university like Nalanda etc. The Deo-Barnark inscription of the Jivītagupta II indicates the existence of a city called Śrīnagara, the same city is also referred to in the Munghyr grant of Devapāla, as well as in the Nalanda copper plate of the same monarch. Sir Charles Wilkins suggested that Śrīnagara was another name of Pāṭaliputra.[23] This view has been generally accepted. The seals of this *bhukti* has been found at Nalanda where I have suggested that it should be read as Śrīnagara *bhukti*.[24] We learn from Hiuen-Tsang that Pāṭaliputra was already in ruins and covered by jungle, where carnivora lived. But the Munghyr grant as well as the earlier Deo-Barnark inscription acquaints us with the fact that the *bhukti* and the city as well existed as late as *c.* 7th century to 9th century of the Christian era. Where was then this Śrīnagara, when the celebrated capital of Aśoka and Samudragupta lay in ruins on the banks of the Ganges? My suggestion is that Śrīnagara was the name of the Gupta and Pāla cities of Biharsarif, while the chief fane along with the university was known as Uddaṇḍapura. The fall and final fate of Uddaṇḍapura is too well-known to require any recapitulation. I am of opinion that the great *Vihāra* was within the walled city, and not on the top of the hill. I have visited the hill and closely examined the ruins, there is no space on the uneven hill top for a large university as is mentioned by the muslim invaders[25]

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[21] *JRAS.*, Oct. 1935, pp. 655 ff.

[22] *Ep. Indica*, vol. xxii , pp. 150-159.

ADRIS BANERJI

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[23] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i, pp. 130-37.

[24] Cf. my paper entitled Srinagara Bhukti, in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. xii, pp. 41 ff.

[25] Developed from an after Dinner lecture delivered in the Library Hall of the Civil Court Bar Association, Bihar-Sarif, on the 21st December, 1948, under the presidency of Mr. K. Abraham, IAS., SDO., Bihar.

MISCELLANY

A Note on the Genealogy of the Angrias

There is much obscurity regarding the origin and history of the Angrias[1]. Kanhoji's race and parentage have been the subject of speculations and the relationship between the well-known members of the family has not also been satisfactorily settled.

There is a number of documents[2] in the *National Archives of India*, New Delhi, which contain information likely to be found useful in settling some of these uncertainties.

On the death of Raghuji Angria II on 26 December, 1838, his line was on the point of being extinct on account of his having no male heirs. But the second widow of Raghuji was due to give birth to a posthumous child and the Bombay Government thought it advisable to depute W. Courtney at Colaba to be present at the time of the birth of the child to check impersonation. While there, W. Courtney drew up a report for the information of his Government. This report gives a brief account of the Angrias and is accompanied by a genealogical table of the Angria family showing the relationship between its members—both legitimate and illegitimate. The relationships shown in the family tree differ in certain particulars from information available elsewhere, but the fact that the table was drawn up for settling the question of inheritance in the event of the expected child being a female, is a sure guarantee of its having been done with due care and the information contained in the report cannot, therefore, be discarded lightheartedly. The report is reproduced below:—

"The founder of the family was Kanojee Angria, this chief built the Colaba Fort, about the year Sukkee 1602, A.D. 1680/1, he died about 1639 A.D. 1717/8 leaving two legitimate sons Sumbajee and Shikojee and three natural children Manajee, Yesajee and Dhondjee. His eldest son Sumbajee did not however, it would appear, succeed his father on the Colaba *gadee* but held the Government of Sevendroog and its dependencies in which he was succeeded by his only son Toolajee Angria who as far as I can learn died childless.

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[1] Foster: *Downing's History of Indian Wars* (Oxford. 1924).
Sen: *Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and other papers* (Calcutta University, 1941); *Half a Century of the Maratha Navy* (*The Journal of Indian History*, vol. X, Part III); *Military System of the Maratha* (Cal., 1930); "A Man of Mystery: Apaji Angria" (*Calcutta Review*, Nov., 1937).
James Douglas: *Bombay and Western India*, London, 1893, vol. I, Chap. IX, deserves mention in this connection.

[2] *Pol. Cons.*, 3 July, 1839 25-27.

"Shikojee second son of Kanojee Angria obtained the chieftainship on the death of his father, and on his demise without issue about four years afterwards (A.D. 1720/1), Manajee the eldest illegitimate son of Kanojee Angria was promoted to the *gadee*. Yesajee his brother offered some opposition to his authority, but he was taken prisoner and had his eyes put out by Manajee, he afterwards escaped to Rewadunda, the mamlut of which was at that time held by Scindiah, and an asamee of Rs. 500 per mensem was granted him by that Prince from the revenues of the Mahals. Manajee died in A.D. 1757/8 after a reign of 36 years and was succeeded by his natural son Raghojee.

"Raghojee held the chieftainship till his death, which happened about A.D. 1793/4 he left two sons Manajee and Kanojee, and a natural son named Jysingrao. His eldest son Manajee ascended the *gadee* on his father's decease, but about the year A.D. 1797/8 Baboorao the eldest son of Yesajee Angria sent Hurree Punt Khawe against Colaba, he took the Fort and carried off Manajee and his brother Kanojee to Poona; from thence they escaped to Rewadunda but were afterwards surrendered to Baboorao by orders from the Peishwah about the year 1800/1 Baboorao came himself to Colaba to settle his Government, at which time he put Jysingrao (Manajee's natural brother) to death in consequence of his being concerned in some intrigue, and placed Manajee and Kanojee in cofinement in the Fort of Colaba.

"Jysingrao's widow fled with her two sons Morrarjee and Chimnajee to Kendeyree (Kennery) which she held against Baboorao, in the following year however he sent a fleet against her and took the fort when she and her children fled to Bombay. Her eldest son Morrarjee again attempted to possess himself of Colaba about the year 1807/8 but was repulsed by Baboorao. After this it would seem that Baboorao returned to Gaulier where he died about the year 1814. A Pension of Rs. 250 per mensem was granted to Morrarjee with an understanding that he should reside in Bombay. This was subsequently confirmed to him by the 11th article of the treaty concluded with Raghojee Angria in 1822. I am unable to ascertain whether he is still living and in the enjoyment of this pension or not, his brother Chimnajee is alive and is now residing at Colaba.

"On Baboorao's death, Manajee was restored to his Government by the Peishwah's aid, on which occasion he ceded to that Prince the island of Kennery 18 of the Do Turafa villages and 2 of his own.[3] He died in 1818 and was succeeded by his only son Raghojee the late chief.

"Yesajee the second illegitimate son of Kanojee Angria left two sons the elder, Baboorao as above stated held the chieftainship for about 16 years and died without male issue, the younger however Mawjee left two sons Sumbajee and Sukkojee, they are said to be now living in the service of Scindiah and high in favor with that Prince.

"The late Surkheil has left four daughters by his eldest wife, their ages are about seven, six and three years and thirty six days respectively his second wife is enceinte and the third childless. He has left also two natural sons, the elder Gunnojee about 8 years of age and the younger about 2. Gunnojee is afflicted with lameness.

"It will be seen from the foregoing account that the succession to the *gadee* has neither descended regularly from father to son, nor been confined to the legitimate line; the chieftainship (as was not uncommon among the Marratthas) having been frequently conferred on natural sons in consequence perhaps of large Nuzzeranas or on account of their character for courage and conduct and the prospect of their doing good service to the Paramount Power.

"By the 4th Article of the Treaty concluded with Raghojee Angria in 1822. the British Government relinquished in favor of him and his heirs and successors Nuzzerana as received or claimed by the late Peishwah, but reserved to itself entire supremacy over the Colaba state, and the right of conferring investiture on the Chief of Colaba, on any vacancy of the musnud."

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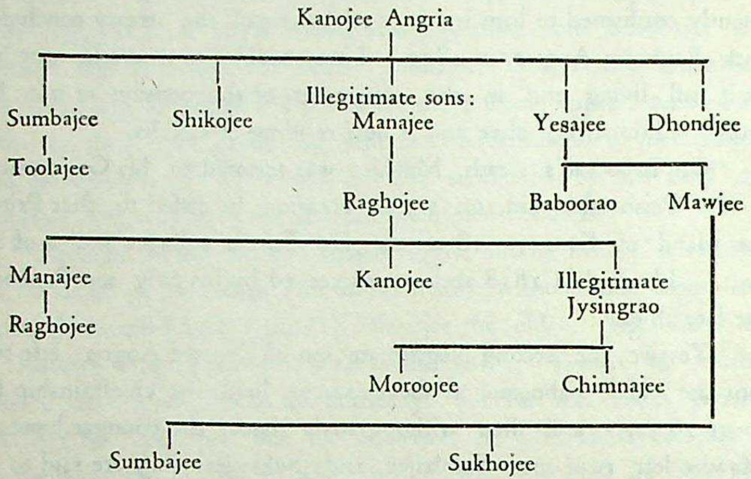
[3] These were restored to Angria a few days before the commencement of hostilities between the Peishwah and the British, probably to prevent their falling into our hands.

FAMILY TREE


Kanojee Angria
Sumbajee
Toolajee
Shikojee
Illegitimate sons:
Manajee
Raghojee
Yesajee
Dhondjee
Baboorao
Mawjee
Manajee
Raghojee
Kanojee
Illegitimate
Jysingrao
Moroojee
Chimnajee
Sumbajee
Sukhojee

Order of Succession

1. Kanojee Angira
2. Shikojee
3. Manajee
4. Raghojee
5. Manajee
6. Baboorao
7. Manajee a second time
8. Raghojee

Sd/- W. Courtney,
on Special duty at Colaba.

The differences between Courtney's account and the existing authorities should be noticed. Courtney mentions Sambaji, and not Sekhoji, as the eldest son of Kanhoji. He makes Manaji an illegitimate son instead of a son by the second wife of Kanhoji. Tulaji is mentioned as the grandson and not the son of Kanhoji. Finally according to him Tulaji died childless and he nowhere mentions Raghunathji Angria as his son.

Further investigations may unfold the complete family history of the Angrias.

Courtney's deputation at Colaba was prompted by a real emergency. Already a claimant to the *gaddi* of Colaba had appeared on the scene. Sambhaji, a nephew of Baboorao Angria, had assumed the hereditary title of *Sarkhel* and appealed to the Bombay Government[4] for recognition of his claims to the *gaddi* of Colaba and asked Venayak Rao Parushram Dewanji (Minister) of Colaba to carry on the

Government in his name using the great seal of the State. It will not be out of place, perhaps, to reproduce relevant extracts from the letters below :—

"It is known that after the death of the deceased there is none except myself and my brother Sukhojee Row Angria, who can found claims to the Chiefship of Colaba on his direct descent from the Angria lineage.

As the British Government is celebrated for its justice and as it does not trifle with the right of anybody I trust that I shall obtain my right which will contribute to the renown of Government.

In a few days an agent will appear in your presence on my part and represent the whole of my case to your Honor until the arrival of this person, I beg the favour of your honour not to attend to any representations prejudicial to my interests from any Karkoon of the Colaba state should such be deputed to your Honour." '(Substance of a letter from Mowjee bin Sumbhajee Angria Wujarut Maub Suwaree Surkheil to the Hon'ble the Governor in Council without date received 30th January 1839.')

'Letter from Sumbajee Rao Angria to Venaick Rao Pureshram Dewanjee of Colaba dated 3d. Zilkad A.D. 19th January 1839'.[5]

News has reached me from Poonah that Raghojee Angria died on Posh sood 10th (Wednesday) Raghojee was young; but this is a dying world and every thing happens according to the will of God.

You have been for many years from the time of my ancestors in the service of the state and have been Karbaree to Manajee and Raghojee Angria; I do not consider you as estranged from me. The affairs of the state must now be settled; do you therefore remembering how you managed affairs in the days of my ancestors continue the management in my name, and settle the affairs of the state. If you have any doubts on this subject, I will give you any assurances you may require on the receipt of an answer from you, every doubt shall be removed. Depend on this. Let it appear that you have served my ancestors."

Seal of the Surkheil *Moortub.*

UPENDRA NATH SARKAR

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[4] *Pol. Cons.*, 3 July, 1839, No. 26.

[5] *Ibid.*

A Note on the Chronology of the Śailodbhavas

I had to write the history of the early Śailodbhavas in a chapter contributed to the *New History of the Indian People,* vol. VI, Lahore, 1946, pp. 82-84. I also published a paper on the history of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Orissa in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society, Balangir,* vol. II, 1947, pp. 39 ff. I now find, on a further study of the copper plates issued by the Śailodbhava kings, which are the main source for the reconstruction of the history of this royal family, that some of the views expressed by me earlier require modification.

The earliest epigraphic record of the Śailodbhava family is the Ganjam plates[1] issued by king Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman (Mādhavarāja) II Śrīnivāsa, in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.D.), when he was still a feudatory of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. His other records, viz., the Khurda,[2] Buguda,[3] Puri[4] and Cuttack Museum[5] plates were issued later without any reference to an overlord, when he had already thrown off the yoke of the Gauḍas. The undated Khurda plates, like the Ganjam record and unlike the other inscriptions of the king, contain an introduction couched in prose and seems to be the earliest of the known records issued by Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa during this period of his independent rule. The Buguda, Puri and Cuttack Museum plates have their introduction in verses composed for the first time by the court poet of the Śailodbhava king in question. Among these three epigraphs, the Buguda charter, which is undated like the Khurda plates, may be the earliest, although the original document seems to have been copied on the plates at a later date. The date of the Puri plates has been doubtfully read as the regnal year 23 but seems to me to be the year 13, whereas the Cuttack Museum plates bear a date in the king's 50th regnal year. It seems that the Khurda and Buguda charters belong to an intermediate period when the use of the Gupta era, associated with the subordination of the family, had been discontinued, but the use of the regnal reckoning was not yet adopted. The versified introduction of the later records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa has a stanza crediting him with the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. This horse-sacrifice was apparently performed to commemorate the throwing off of the Gauḍa yoke by Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa. The evidence of the Puri plates shows that the Aśvamedha was celebrated by the Śailodbhava king before his 13th regnal year which therefore fell sometime after 619 A.D., the date of the Ganjam inscription issued during his vassalage to the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. The early features of the palæography of the records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, his son Ayaśobhīta II Madhyamarāja and the latter's son Dharmarāja Mānabhīta would suggest that the independent rule of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa could not have begun long after 619 A.D. Since he ruled at last upto his 50th regnal year, his reign may be tentatively assigned to the period 610-62 A.D.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.,* vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.
[2] *JASB.,* vol. LXIII, pp. 284 ff.
[3] *Ep. Ind.,* vol. III, pp. 43 ff.
[4] *Ibid.,* vol. XXIV, pp. 151-53.
[5] *Ibid.,* vol. XXIII, pp. 127-29.

The Parikud plates[6] of Ayaśobhīta II Madhyamarāja, son of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, are dated in the king's 26th regnal year. There is no doubt that this date given in words in line 45 of the record was repeated in figures in its last line. Unfortunately, the unsatisfactory state of the preservation of the latter part of the document has been responsible for wrong readings of the date in figures in the last line of the inscription. Since Ayaśobhīta II Madhyamarāja ruled at least upto his 26th regnal year, his rule may be tentatively placed in the period 662-90 A.D.

The date of the Puri plates[7] of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta has not been satisfactorily preserved and cannot unfortunately be read from the facsimile published in *JBORS.*, vol. XVI. There is however no doubt that it contained a year of the king's regnal reckoning. Unfortunately the date of the Puri plates of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta has been sometimes read as the year 512 of the Śaka era, without thinking of the absurdity of placing Dharmarāja in 590 A.D. when his grandfather was ruling in 619 A.D. and sometimes as the year 312 of the Gupta era without noticing that Dharmarāja could not have ruled in the Gupta year 312 when his grandfather was ruling in the Gupta year 300 and his father ruled at least for about 26 years. As regards the suggestion regarding the use of the Śaka era in the Puri plates, it may be further pointed out that the said era was unknown in Orissa before the rise of the imperial Gaṅgas in the 10th century A.D. The date of the Nivina grant[8] of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta is probably the year 9 of the king's reign, while that of his Kondedda grant[9] is undoubtedly the regnal year 30. It is really unfortunate that the date of the Kondedda grant has been sometimes read as the Gupta year 312 inspite of the clear sign for 30 and of the fact that it is simply impossible to assign Dharmarāja's reign only 12 years after the Gupta year 300 which is the date of the Ganjam plates of his grandfather. Since Dharmarāja Mānabhīta thus ruled at least upto his 30th regnal year, his reign may be roughly assigned to the period 690-725 A.D. The palæography of Dharmarāja's records does not seem to favour us in pushing the end of his rule much beyond the end of the first quarter of the eighth century A.D.

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[6] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XI, pp. 284-87.

[7] *JBORS.*, vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions*, No. 2041; Cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 401.

An interesting passage found in the Kondedda grant as well as in the unpublished Orissa Museum plates says that Dharmarāja was *the son of the son* (*i.e.* grandson) of one who had taken the *avabhṛtha* bath after an Aśvamedha sacrifice (*aśvamedh-āvabhṛtha-snāna-nirvarttita-sūnos=tanayaḥ*). This undoubtedly refers to the horse-sacrifice performed by his grandfather Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa before the 13th year of his reign. An important verse in the records of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta seems to say that he had an elder brother named Mādhava (i.e., Mādhavavarman who was probably named after his grandfather). This Mādhava is said to have begun, as soon as he ascended the throne, to bear ill will against his younger brother Dharmarāja. But Dharmarāja defeated Mādhava at the battle of Phāsikā. Mādhava thereupon took shelter with a powerful king named Tīvara. But the allies, Mādhava and Tīvara, were both disastrously defeated by Dharmarāja again at the foot of the Vindhyas. The identification of king Tīvara mentioned in this connection is uncertain. He cannot be identified with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Mahāśiva Tīvara of South Kosala, who flourished about 565-80 A.D.[10] Whether Tīvara, contemporary of Śailodbhava Dharmarāja (*circa* 690-725 A.D.), was a later member of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśa of South Kosala cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

The above chronology of the Śailodbhava king Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa (*circa* 610-52 A.D.) would suggest that the decline of the power of the Gauḍa empire, due to the defeat of the Gauḍa king, whether he was Śaśāṅka himself or his successor, at the hands of king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (606-47 A.D.), allied with king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, set in shortly after 619 A.D. We know that Śaśāṅka was dead and the glorious days of Gauḍa were a thing of the past some time before 638 A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang was passing through Eastern India. Harṣavardhana led an expedition against Orissa about 643 A.D. probably on behalf of the Gauḍa king whom he then considered as one of his subordinate allies. The death of Śaśāṅka and the discomfiture of the Gauḍa king, which must have inspired Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa of Koṅgoda, like the Khaḍgas and Rātas of Eastern Bengal, to assert his independence, thus can be placed roughly towards the close of the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Harṣavardhana's hold on Koṅgoda must have been short lived; but the Śailodbhavas declined after Dharmarāja Mānabhīta owing to the expansion of the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas of Jajpur, who may have originally acknowledged the suzerainty of Harṣavardhana for some time. The earliest Bhauma-Kara charter recording a grant of land in the Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* forming a part of South Tosalī is dated in the year 103[11] and belong to the reign of Śubhākara III (not Śubhākara II as hitherto known). If this date is referred to the Harṣa era of 606 A.D., as is often done, the above Bhauma-Kara king ruled in 699 A.D. as a contemporary of the Śailodbhava ruler Dharmarāja Mānabhīta. It may be suggested that parts of the dominions of Śailodbhava Dharmarāja passed to the Bhauma-Karas before the end of the seventh century. It should however be admitted that, according to the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas, preferred by some writers, Śubhākara III flourished about the close not of the seventh but of the eighth century.

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[8] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, pp. 38-41.

[9] *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, pp. 267-70; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 2040.

[10] *IHQ.*, vol. XIX, p. 144.

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[11] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 21 ff.

The Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa on Candragupta I

Candragupta I founded the great Gupta empire, and thus played a dominant role in ancient Indian history. Yet little is known about him. So we hardly need to offer an apology in drawing attention here to a passage of the AMMK which may prove as containing some information about this king.

The passage in question runs as follows:—

ता पूर्वदेशेऽस्मिन्नगरे तीर्थिकसमाह्वये ।
भगवाख्ये नृपे ख्यातः गौडानां प्रभविष्णवः ॥६६४॥
अभिषिक्तो दक्षिणात्येन प्रतिना प्रभविष्णुना ।
राज्यं कृत्वा तु वै तत्र पश्चिमां दिशिमागतः ॥६६५॥
प्रविश्य नगरीं रम्यां साकेतां तु यथेप्सितः ।
अरिणा भूतस्तु पुनरेव निवर्तते ॥६६६॥
प्राचीं समुद्रपर्यन्तां तस्करैश्च समावृतः ।
शस्त्रप्रहारविध्वस्तमृतोऽसौ प्रेततां गतः ॥६६७॥
त्रीणि वर्षाणि कृत्वासौ भूपालो राज्यमल्पकम् ।
ततो दस्युभिर्ग्रस्तः मृतः प्रेत महर्द्धिकः ॥६६८॥
त्रीणि वर्षाणि तत्रैव प्रेतेभ्यो राज्यमकारयेत् ।
ततोऽपि सो त्यक्तदेहस्तु प्रेतलोकां सुदारुणाम् ॥६६९॥
तस्मान्मुक्तजन्मानः स्वर्लोकं च सदा व्रजेत् ।
तस्याधरेण नृपतिस्तु समुद्राख्यो नाम कीर्तितः ॥७००॥[1]

It has been generally recognised that the king of Gauḍa named Samudra (नृपतिस्तु समुद्राख्यो), referred to here in the verse 700, is Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty[2]. At another place the author of the AMMK has described the Gupta king Samudragupta exactly in the same words:

समुद्राख्यो नृपश्चैव विक्रमश्चैव कीर्तितः ।
महेन्द्रनृपवरो मुख्य सकाराद्यो मतः परम् ॥६४६॥[3]

Then, approximately chronology and location of kingdom also warrant the conclusion that king Samudra of the above passage should be identical with Emperor Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty. Besides king Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty, we do not know any other king of Gauḍa of ancient times to have had this name.

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[1] K. P. Jayaswal, *Imp. Hist. of India*, text, pp. 50-51.

[2] K. P. Jayaswal, *ibid.*, pp. 48-49; P. L. Gupta, J.N.S.I., vol. V. 1943, pp. 149-150 and *IHQ.*, vol. XXII, 1946, pp. 60-61; Heras, *JBRS.*, 1948, pp. 19 ff. and others.

[3] K. P. Jayaswal, *ibid.*, text, p. 47 verses 646.

Now if Samudra of this passage is Samudragupta of the Gupta family, the verses from 694-699 should be found to refer to the predecessor of this king. We know from other sources reliably that the predecessor of Samudragupta was none but Candragupta I. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal also saw in these verses a reference to Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty[4]. He interpreted this passage in accordance with his conception of the early Gupta history as based on the Kaumudī-Mahotsava. This interpretation has, however, not found favour with our historians, and so we need not examine here the observations made by Dr. Jayaswal.

It will suffice to state that if it is accepted that the above passage refers to Candragupta I, we come to know three new things about this king:

(1) Candragupta I was installed in kingship of Magadha by some king of the Deccan;

(2) He extended his kingdom, and penetrated up to Sāketa;

and (3) Afterwards he was defeated and killed by his enemies who occupied his kingdom.

It cannot be said at present whether on critical examination of the above passage and with the increase of our knowledge about the early Gupta history, these facts about Candragupta I will be found to be true or false. But this much may be stated with all reservation that up to this time we do not know anything which does not suit these facts.

First, it is said that Candragupta I was coronated by some king of the Deccan. In itself there is nothing in this statement which may not be true. In the time of the rise of Candragupta I Indian politics was dominated by the later kings of the Śātavāhana family, their successors and the Vākāṭakas who were all southerners. Then again the Gupta genealogies show that the father and the grandfather of Candragupta I were simply Mahārājas. So it is not unlikely that in the beginning of his rule Candragupta I accepted supremacy of any one of these Deccan kings.

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[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 48-49 and 52.

Secondly, it is said that Candragupta I extended his power and conquered up to Sāketa. This fact also is confirmed by the Gupta inscriptions and coins. In contrast to the lower titles of his father and grandfather, the genealogical portions of the Gupta epigraphs name Candragupta I with the title 'Mahārājādhirāja. It shows that Candragupta I enhanced his kingly prestige. Moreover if it be accepted, as it is emphatically said to-day, that Candragupta I issued the marriage-type coins, then it becomes clear that Candragupta I was the first king of his family to issue coins. This fact may be interpreted to mean that he freed himself from the supremacy of other kings. A small number and a single type of these coins may further be taken to indicate that Candragupta I began to issue coins late in his life, and thus that he claimed sovereignty much after his coronation.

It is quite possible that Candragupta I had conquered up to Sāketa. The inheritance of Samudragupta as known from his Allahabad Pillar inscription most probably included these territories.

Lastly, it is said that towards the end of his life Candragupta I was defeated and killed by his enemies. Nothing is known definitely on this point. However, we would like to quote two verses from the Allahabad Pillar inscription in this connection. One verse probably indicates that Candragupta I left his throne and made Samudragupta king under special circumstances[5]. It is not unlikely that he was dying of some fatal wound inflicted by his enemies, and he selected the brave Samudragupta as a king in view of the invasion of his enemies:

आर्यो हीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कर्णितै रोमभिः
सभ्येषुच्छ्वसितेषु तुल्यकुलजम्लानाननोद्वीक्षितः ।
स्नेहव्यालुलितेन वाष्पगुरुणा तत्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिलां पाह्येवमुर्वीमिति ॥[6]

In the other verse it is said that Samudragupta defeated some of his enemies at Pāṭaliputra. It is likely that these were the kings who had defeated Candragupta I and had come over to Pāṭaliputra:

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[5] Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *A New History of the Indian People*, vol. VI, pp. 137-8.

[6] Dr. D. C. Sircar, Sel. Ins. vol. 1, p. 255.

उद्वेलोदितबाहुवीर्यरभसादेकेन येन क्षणा—
दुन्मूल्याच्युत-नागसेन ग[णपत्यादीन्नृपान् संगरे ?]
दण्डैर्ग्राहयतैव कोतकुलजं पुष्पाह्वये क्रीडता…[7]

Thus if the Allahabad Pillar inscription be interpreted in this way, even the third statement of the AMMK about Candragupta I will be found to be correct.

In conclusion, it may be said that if referred to Candragupta I, as it should be, the above passage of the AMMK suits him well. One passage from a forged Purāṇa text, alleged to have been from a Kaliyuga-Rājavṛttānta-Kathā, also described Candragupta I's history with similar details. It is possible that the forger might have taken these details from the AMMK. At any rate, for the present his source for these details is not known at all. But it is natural that like other parts of his history, he should have based this part also on some source. If this source be some one other than the AMMK, we shall find one more corroborative source for the tradition about Candragupta I given in the AMMK.

Kailash Chandra Ojha

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

The Spread of the Saka Era in South India

Professor V. V. Mirashi has recently published a paper entitled "The Spread of [the] Śaka Era in South India" in the pages of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. XXVI, pp. 216-22. There are several points raised by the Professor in the above paper with which I find it diffcult to agree, although in the following lines I am inclined to draw his attention only to a few very important facts which appear to have escaped his notice. Professor Mirashi first points out that between the Śaka year 46, which is the latest known date in the inscriptions of the time of the Śaka Satrap Nahapāna, and the Śaka year 465, mentioned in the Badami inscription of the Early Cālukya King Pulakeśin I, there is no trace of use of the Śaka era in South India. Then he suggests that, since the Cālukyas pointedly applied the name *Śaka-kāla* or *Śaka-nṛpa-kāla* to the era in question "the Śaka kings who were using this era in the aforementioned period (i. e. in Ś. 46-465) must plainly have been the rulers of the country where the Cālukyas rose to power." He further says that he has recently examined certain coins of some Śaka kings of the Mahiṣa or Mahiṣya dynasty and that "from the provenance of these coins, which were discovered in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur and Maski, it would appear that Māhiṣaka was the name of the southern portion of the Hyderabad State". The Professor's main thesis seems to be that it is these Śakas located in the southern part of Hyderabad who continually used the Śaka era and transmitted its use to the Early Cālukyas of Bādami.

Now, in locating the Mahiṣa or Māhiṣaka country in southern Hyderabad, as I have shown elsewhere,[1] the learned Professor ignores the evidence of the Hebbata grant of the Kadamba King Viṣṇuvarman (about the close of the fifth century) which was published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for the*

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[1] See my paper entitled "The Mahishas of the Mahisha Country" published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. XII, pp. 50-52. I am sorry that Dr. A. S. Altekar, inspite of the fact that he had absolutely nothing to say against the unimpeachable epigraphic evidence regarding the location of the Mahiṣa country in Mysore, succumbed to the temptation of adding a lengthy editorial note to the paper (*ibid.*, pp. 52-53). In my opinion, the note is utterly irrelevant in regard to the point at issue and contributes nothing to our knowledge of the subject.

year 1925, page 91, and discussed in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, pages 292-93. According to this charter, the Kadamba king made an *agrahāra* of the village of Herbbaṭa (modern Hebbata) in the Sāṭṭipalli-Jāripāṭa division of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya. It is therefore definitely proved that the Mahiṣa country was the district round the village of Hebbata in the Tumkur *taluk* of Mysore. Whether this ancient country of Mahiṣa included in any period of history the southern part of the present Hyderabad State is of course another matter. It may however be pointed out that this country formed a part of the dominions of the Kadambas and not of the socalled Śakas of southern Hyderabad in the period preceding the rise of the Cālukyas about the middle of the sixth century.

About the existence of a Śaka ruling family in the Mahiṣa country I am unfortunately unable to commit anything without examining the coins in question. But in the absence of any evidence worth the name in regard to the power and prestige of this Śaka dynasty, the number of its rulers and the duration of their rule being unknown, its responsibility for continuing the use of the Śaka era till the middle of the sixth century can only be regarded as a mere conjecture. On the other hand the learned Professor has ignored the evidence of the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*.

Professor Mirashi has not been able to trace any use of the Śaka era in South India between the Śaka years 46 and 465. His attention in this connection may be drawn to the above Jain work noticed in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for the years 1909-1910*,[2] as well as in the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, page 176. The precise date of the completion of the *Lokavibhāga* is given in the book as the 22nd regnal year of King Siṁhavarman, lord of the Pallavas, and as 80 beyond 300 years of the Śaka era. Thus the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*, completed in the Śaka year 380, apparently at Kāñcī, gives us an instance of the use of the Śaka era in South India between the Śaka years 46 and 465. It has to be remembered that this instance can hardly be connected with any Śaka ruling family of South India except by an unwarranted conjecture. But it certainly supports the view that it was the Jains who were "greatly responsible for the development of the Vikrama and Śālivāhana-Śaka sagas as well as the spread of both the Vikrama and Śaka eras" (*IHQ.*, vol. XXV, p. 289). The spread of the Śaka era in the south seems to be essentially associated with that of the Jains from their stronghold in the Gujrat-Kathiawad region forming a part of dominions of the Śakas of Western India, who used the era in question, till the close of the fourth century A.D.

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[2] See p. 31 of the Report of 1909 and pp. 45-47 of that of 1910. The verse in question runs:

saṁvatsare tu dvāviṁśe Kāñciśā-Ssi (Si)ṁhavarmaṇaḥ/
aśity-agre Śak-āhvānāṁ siddham=etac=chata-traye//

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bharatiya Vidya, vol. XI, nos. 1 & 2

R. C. Majumdar.—*The Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvatīguptā.* Arguments are put forward in support of the following conclusions: The Vākāṭaka Queen Prabhāvatīguptā, who was a daughter of the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II attained her hundredth year after 455 A.C. Pravarasena II during whose reign Prabhāvatī acted as regent had been born not before Candragupta's death. The latter therefore could not help his daughter during the period of her regency by sending Kālidāsa to the Vākāṭaka court.

A. N. Upadhye.—*When was Pārśvābhyudaya composed?* Jinasena's *Pārśvābhyudaya*, which supplements every single verse of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* by three new lines, is surmised to have been composed between 775 and 780 A.C.

H. R. Karnik.—*Some More Indra Legends from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*

K. Krishnamoorthy.—*A Survey of Early Sanskrit Poetics.*

S. Mahdihassan.—*Cultural Words of Chinese Origin.*

P. K. Gode.—*Recipes for Hair-dyes in the Nāvanītaka* (*c. 2nd century A.D.*) *and their close Affinity with the Recipes for Ink-manufacture* (*after A.D. 1000*).

Ludwick Sternbach.—*Second Supplement to Veśyā; Synonyms and Aphorisms.*

S. P. Sangar.—*Aurangzeb's Dealings with Robbers.* Organised robbery was not uncommon in Aurangzeb's time, which had to be met by various measures including capital punishment.

Surya Kanta.—*Was the Commentator of the AV. identical with Sāyaṇa of the ṚV.* Several passages from the *Atharvaveda* commentary compared with the corresponding portion of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Ṛgveda* indicate that "the two commentators were not only not identical, but the former did not, in cases, care to consult the comment on the corresponding *Ṛgveda* passages."

P. M. Modi.—*Each Adhyāya of Bhagavadgītā: A Unit by Itself.*

Sadashiva L. Katre.—*Jayavijaya, a Contemporary Poem in Eulogy of Maharaja Jai Singh III of Jaipur, by Rāmacandra.* Two folios written in Devanāgarī script found among the manuscripts of the Scindia Oriental Institute (Ujjain) are ascertained to have been the beginning of a Sanskrit poem called *Jayavijaya*. The hero of the poem is Jayasiṃha described as ruler of Jayapura and son of Jagatsiṃha. This description points to Jayasiṃha III who is known to have lived in the first part of the 19th century. The poem, if ever discovered in its entirety, may supply a good account of the contemporary events.

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY.—*The Concept of Suggestion in Sanskrit Poetics*. The importance of the theory of Dhvani in the field of literary criticism and the way in which Ānandavardhana has developed the theory have been discussed in the paper.

A. D. PUSALKAR.—*Some Problems of Ancient Indian History*. In his Presidential Address delivered at section I of the Indian History Congress, Nagpur, the author deals with some controversial questions in the history of ancient India: (1) An assertion is made that India was the original home of the Aryans, and proto-Vedic was their language. (2) A probability is hinted that the retreat of Alexander from his Indian conquest might have been occasioned by 'a severe defeat he sustained' here. (3) The Indus Valley ruins represent a later phase of the Vedic civilization itself, and the citadels discovered here do not answer to the description of the *Ṛgvedic* 'pūrs' that were destroyed by Indra. (4) The decipherment of the Indus script may be achieved by its comparison with the Chinese script and a study of the signs on punch-marked coins. (5) Painted grey wares found at Hastināpur, Ahicchatra and Tilpat show that the three townships once flourished contemporaneously. (6) The Purāṇic traditions indicate the following dates: The Mahābhārata War took place in 1400 B.C. The Great flood in which Manu became the saviour occurred in 3102 B.C. The activities of Paraśurāma, Duṣyanta, Rāma Dāśarathi and Dāśarājña fall respectively round the periods of 2500 B.C., 2350 B.C., 1950 B.C. and 1900 B.C.

G. V. JOSHI.—भारवेरर्थगौरवम् (*Depth of Meaning in Bhāravi's Composition*). The import of a number of passages from Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* has been discussed here in Sanskrit, and their depth of meaning has been brought out.

Journal of the Bihar Research Society, vol. XXXVI. pts, 3-4

N. P. Chakraverty.—*Spread of Indian Civilization in Chinese Turkistan.* The discussion begins with an account of the political vicissitudes which Chinese Turkistan had to undergo from the 2nd century B.C. to the 13th century A.C. Special stress has been laid on the significance of the various finds unearthed in this region in the early years of the present century. 'Numerous manuscripts in Sanskrit and Prakrit,' hundreds of specimens of Buddhist art, and 'thousands of other articles of cultural and ethnological importance' have been brought to light by the efforts of expeditions and missions in Khotan and its neighbourhood. In the impact of different cultures, religions, races and languages, which this part of the territory had received through a long period, the contribution of Buddhism from the extreme north-west of the Indian Peninsula was the most remarkable. It is now believed that even in the matter of transmission of Buddhist art and culture to China and Japan, the centres of Chinese Turkistan played a preponderant rôle.

R. Subrahmanyam.—*Sarasvatīvilāsa.* The internal evidence in the great Smṛti digest *Sarasvatīvilāsa* indicates that Pratāparudra Gajapati of Orissa (1496-1540 A.C.), to whom the work is attributed in the colophon, could not be its real compiler. Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, a court-poet of Pratāparudra is, on the other hand, expressly mentioned elsewhere as the author of the *Sarasvatīvilāsa.*

Tarapada Chowdhury. *Linguistic Aberrations in Kālidāsa.* More than two hundred and sixty instances of grammatical solecisms and improprieties in the use of words and forms in respect of syntax or idiom have been pointed out in Kālidāsā's writings.

B. P. Sinha.—*Kumāragupta III.* Kumāragupta III who succeeded Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya and issued coins with the assumed title of Kramāditya might have died in battle against Yaśodharman in about 530 A.C.

Vishwanath Prasad Sinha Varma.—*Some Aspects of the Origins of Upaniṣadic Religion and Philosophy in the Vedas.* The thought evolution from the Saṃhitās to the Upaniṣads is conceived to have undergone three stages. The first stage may be noticed in the hymns declaring the total supremacy of the individual god-heads; the second stage is represented in the concept of the unity and identification of those gods; and the third stage is reached when the unity of the gods expands to cover the unity of the entire universe. The notion of unity here advanced from the realm of religion to the realm of philosophy. The contemplative spirit of the Upaniṣadic monism which is generally taken as a reaction against the sacrificial polytheism of the *Brāhmaṇas*, may be explained as a natural outcome of the vague mysticism surrounding the Vedic rites emphasized in the earlier literature.

SYED HASAN ASKARI.—*Fragments of a newly discovered Persian Manuscript by a Hindu Newswriter.* The account recorded in the manuscript relates to the period between 1784 and 1794 A.C. dealing mainly with the activities of Captain William Kirpatrick, who became a Resident with Mahadji Sindhia.

K. K. DATTA.—*A Contemporary Account of the Indian Movement of 1857-59.* The National Archives of India possess a record in Urdu dated August 1858 relating to the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. This is an account prepared no doubt with a pro-British sympathy by Hydyat Ali Khan, a Subedar in Bengal Police Battalion. But it does not fail to point out several of the real causes of disaffection against the British rule in India that produced the wide spread movement lasting about two years.

D. S. TRIVEDA.—*The Pre-Mauryan History of Bihar.* Magadha in Bihar was in ancient times predominated by the Vrātyas, who belonged to the first batch of primitive Aryans, but as a result of long separation from their kinsmen ceased to follow the cult of sacrifice. The Vrātyastoma in the *Atharvaveda* and the discussions on the Vrātyas in later literature give some idea of the Vrātya culture in early Bihar. The Upaniṣadic doctrines are conjectured to have developed among the Vrātya thinkers in Magadha.

RAMSARAN SARMA.—प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य में स्त्री श्रौर शूद्र के कुछ सम्मिलित उल्लेख (*Some References to Women and Sūdras conjointly in Ancient Indian Literature.*)

ROBERT SHAFER.—*Classification of some Languages of the Himalayas.*

Journal of Dakkan History and Culture, vol. I, no, 1 (1950)

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Nasir Jang in the Carnatic.* This is an account of the military endeavours in the Carnatic region specially ventured by Nasir Jang in the 18th century, when he became Nizam under Emperor Ahmad Shah.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*The Dhavala Ruling Family of Ancient Orissa.* A copper-plate grant assigned to the 8th or 9th century A.C. mentions the name of Narendradhavala, a hitherto unknown king, whose territory, it is surmised, lay near the Keonjhar State in Orissa. The ruling chiefs of Dhavalabhūmi (Dhalbhum) and a family of Rajas in Orissa bearing names ending with the word Dhavala might have been the offshoots of the ancient royal dynasty, to which Narendradhavala of the copper-plate grant belonged.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.—*Kundamarasa.* Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kundamarasa being the son of a Cālukya feudatory had no claim to the Western Cālukyan throne. He was in charge of the administration of Vanavase in the 1st quarter of the 11th century.

KHWAJA MUHAMMAD AHAMAD.—*Inscribed and Rivetted Pottery from Koṇḍāpūr Excavations.* The finds unearthed at Koṇḍāpūr in the Hyderabad State belong to the period between *circa* 300 B.C. and 300 A.C. Some pieces of pottery have short inscriptions on them in Prakrit. The indications of attempts at their preservation show that the pieces were held in high esteem.

K. SAJAN LAL.—*Relations between Nizam Ali Khan and Peshva Mādhava Rao I (July 1762 to September 1763).*

S. HANUMANTHA RAO.—*The Qutb Shahi Kings of Golconda.*

M. RAMA RAO.—*The Kākatīyas of Warangal.*

R. KRISHNAMURTHI.—*Devas and Asuras in Astronomy.* The description of the Devas and the Asuras in the *Sūryasiddhānta* is said to have reference respectively to the residents of the North Pole and the South Pole.

K. SITARAMAYYA.—*The Gāthā Saptaśatī and the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit.* The writer of the paper is of the opinion that the Mahārāṣṭrī form of Prakrit is of a late origin and that neither the inscriptions of the Sātavāhana period nor the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla are in that dialect.

ABDUL MAJID SIDDIQUI.—*The Qutb Shahs.*

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K. C. VARADACHARI.—*Approach to Philosophy.* A definition of 'philosophy' is attempted here.

—.—*Mind through the Ages.* The emergence of mind from its primitive phase to the logical one i.e. to the state of abstract thinking has taken place during the last three thousand years.

D. T. TATACHARYA.—*Gitā as a Poem.* The discussion on the grammatical significance of particular expressions in the 1st chapter of the *Gitā* is completed in this instalment of the paper.

N. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO.—*Are the Trivandrum Dramas of Bhāsa Genuine?* The purpose of this study of the historical development of Hindu Law with special reference to the status of women as found in the works Kauṭilya, Bhāsa, Manu, Patañjali, Kālidāsa and Yājñavalkya is to prove that the dramas published from Trivandrum were written by Bhāsa in the 2nd century B.C.

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The Harṣa Era

It is unanimously held by scholars that Harṣavardhana of Kanauj founded an era commencing from the date of his accession in 606 A.D.[1] Considering that such unanimity on a chronological point in ancient Indian history is so rare, one is extremely surprised to find how this view rests on very slender foundations.

No epigraphic record associates Harṣa's name with this era. Nor is there the slightest reference to the foundation of such an era in the writings of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang who have said so many things about the great emperor. It should be noted that although the biographical narrative of Bāṇa covers only a very short period of Harṣa's reign, it occasionally alludes to the events of his later life, and the foundation of an era might have been easily referred to along with his various achievements such as are described in Ch. III.[2] We should further remember that the known political conditions of the time render the theory of a Harṣa era extremely unlikely. An era is usually the result of a continuous reckoning of the regnal year of a great emperor by his successors. Even when it is deliberately founded by a great emperor, it does not usually survive him unless the greatness of the dynasty continues for a sufficiently long time. The *Cālukya Vikrama Varṣa*, for example, went out of use, mainly because the power of the dynasty began rapidly to decline after the death of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI who founded the era. Now, it is well-known that Harṣa's dynasty and empire both ended with him, and his death was followed by a period of anarchy and confusion. Thus none of the two conditions, noted above, which are normally supposed to give rise to an era, can be said to operate in the case of Harṣa era. It could not arise by the fact of his regnal years being continued by his successors, and even if he deliberately founded an era, it was not likely to have survived his death.

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[1] Cunningham gives the date as A.D. 607 (*Book of Indian Eras*, p. 64).

[2] Text, p. 101, Eng. Tr. by Cowell, p. 76.

In view of the facts stated above, one would be very loth indeed to admit the existence of Harṣa era except on very strong positive evidence. And yet, strange to say, such evidence is altogether lacking.

The only authority usually cited for the Harṣa era is Alberuni. Cunningham says, at the very beginning of his account of the era, that "the Śrī-Harṣa-kāl" or "Era of Śrī-Harṣa" is mentioned only by Abu Rihan."[3] This statement, though generally accepted by scholars, is not, however, quite accurate. For a close scrutiny of Alberuni's statement would show that he not only does not mention any such era but rather seems to imply that no such era was in use in his time. As Alberuni's statement forms the central pivot on which the whole theory rests I quote below, *in extenso*, the two relevant passages as translated by Sachau:—[4]

> I. To date by the here-mentioned eras [i.e. Kaliyuga, Kālayavana era etc.] requires in any case vast numbers, since their epochs go back to a most remote antiquity. For this reason people have given up using them, and have adopted instead the eras of:—
>
> (1) Śrī Harṣa.
> (2) Vikramāditya.
> (3) Śaka.
> (4) Valabha, and
> (5) Gupta.
>
> The Hindus believe regarding Śrī Harṣa that he used to examine the soil in order to see what of hidden treasures was in its interior, as far down as the seventh earth; that, in fact, he found such treasures; and that, in consequence, he could dispense with oppressing his subjects (by taxes, etc.) His era is used in Mathura and the country of Kanoj. Between Śrī Harṣa and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region.

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[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

[4] Vol. II, pp. 5, 7.

However in the Kāśmīran calendar I have read that Śrī Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information.

II. Now, the year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:—

(1) To the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harṣa.
(2) To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya.
(3) To the year 953 of the Śakakāla.
(4) To the year 712 of the Valabha era, which is identical with the Guptakāla.
(5) To the year 366 of the era of the canon *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*.
(6) To the year 526 of the era of the canon *Pañcasiddhāntikā* by Varāhamihira.
(7) To the year 132 of the era of the canon *Karaṇasāra;* and
(8) To the year 65 of the era of the canon *Karaṇatilaka*.

The first passage refers to the Harṣa era current in Mathura and Kanauj which commenced 400 years earlier than the Vikrama *Saṁvat* i.e. in 457 B.C. As I have shown elsewhere[5], this probably refers to an era ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to the Nanda kings.

The remark of Alberuni that according to the Kāśmīrian calendar Harṣa was 664 years later than Vikramāditya, is obviously intended only to show that the date of Harṣa, the founder of the Harṣa era, does not tally with the tradition current in Kāśmīr. He only points out the discrepancy between the two dates of Harṣa and emphasises the consequent uncertainty or difficulty of coming to any definite conclusion. But—*and this is the important point which has been consistently ignored*—Alberuni *does not* say that there was another Harṣa era corresponding to the later date of Harṣa (i.e. 606 A.D.). It is a gratuitous assumption by modern scholars for which there is no authority in the above passage.

On the other hand the second passage, quoted above, shows that no such era beginning in 606 A.D. was known to Alberuni. For it is not included in the long list of Indian eras which he has given in order to indicate their year corresponding to the year 400 of Yazdajird. It may be easily presumed that had any such era been current in his days he would have certainly mentioned it in this list. Any one who reads Alberuni's account without prejudice or preconception must, therefore, come to the conclusion that Alberuni does not refer to the so-called Harṣa era of 606 A.D. But unfortunately, for some reason or other, even distinguished scholars have deduced from Alberuni's account not only something he did not say, but even things just opposed to his definite assertion. Thus Cunningham says that the era of 606 (607 A.D.) was used in Mathurā and Kanauj[6] whereas Alberuni makes it quite clear that the Harṣa era current in these two places was the one which started 400 years before Vikrama *Saṁvat;* for he distinctly says that he was told "by the inhabitants of that region," that Śrī Harṣa flourished 400 years before the Vikrama *Saṁvat*.

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[5] *JBORS.*, vol. Ix, p. 417

If we leave aside, as we must, the testimony of Alberuni, the only other argument that can be urged in favour of the existence of Harṣa era is the actual use of an era in many records which may be presumed, on other grounds, to have commenced about A.D. 606, the date of Harṣa's accession. Leaving aside some dates of the Pratīhāra records, the wrong reading of which alone was responsible for referring them to this era, and those of Nepali records of Aṁśuvarman and his successors, which are no longer attributed by some eminent scholars to this era,[7] the following dates alone deserve serious consideration:

1. Shahpur Image Ins. of Ādityasena, year 66 (*Bh. List.* No. 1393).
2. Peheva Ins. of the time of Bhojadeva (Pratīhāra), Year 276 (*Bh. List.* No. 1412).
3. Ahar Inss. with dates ranging between 258 and 298 (*Bh. List.*, Nos. 1409-11, 1414, 1415, 1417-20).
4. Inss. of the Kara dynasty, dated 160, 280, 287, (*Bh. List.* Nos. 1404, 1413, 1416).
5. Some Inss. from Rājputāna, Panjab and Central India, dated 182, 184, 218. (*Bh. List.* Nos. 1405-6, 1408).

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[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

[7] Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II. 152. *B. C. Law* vol. I, 638 ff.

6. Seven dates in a stone inscription found at Kaman (*EI.*, XXIV. 329).
7. An inscription in Hund, dated 169 (*EI.*, XXII. 97).

Of these the dates in Nos. 1-3 must certainly be referred to an era the epoch of which falls near about, say within 25 years of 606 A.D. In the case of the rest, it is probable, but not certain, as we have no sure means of ascertaining their dates within very narrow limits.

Thus on an ultimate analysis the existence of Harṣa era can be assumed only on the supposition that the inscriptions Nos. 1-3 are dated in that era. This is a rather weak foundation for such an important theory in any case. It is particularly so when there are circumstances favouring the assumption that these inscriptions might be dated in other eras.

It has been upheld by S. Lévi[8] that Aṁśuvarman's inscriptions were dated in an era which was founded in Nepal in 595 A.D. If we believe in the existence of any era in Nepal beginning in or about that year we may easily refer the date of Ādityasena's inscription (No. 1) to that era; for we know that he was intimately associated with that kingdom, his daughter having been married by Bhogavarman who lived in the court of Aṁśuvarman and married his daughter to a king of Nepal.

The other Inss. (Nos. 2-3) are not official documents, and the private persons who had them recorded might have belonged to a part of India where the above era of Nepal, or some other era beginning about the same time, was in use.

It is interesting to note in this connection that we have evidence of the use of an era, other than the so-called Harṣa era, whose initial year fell about the same time as the latter. Reference may be made, for example, to the Bhāṭika era, used in at least two records (*Bh. List.*, Nos. 775, 962). In both of these the Bhāṭika *Saṁvat* is used along with Vikrama year (in one case also with Śaka year), showing the difference to be 682 years in one case and 680 in the other. The initial year of the Bhāṭika era therefore falls in the year 623 or 624 A.D.[9]

The origin of the Bhāṭika era is not known. But its initial year is so close to that of Hijra (622 A.D.), and Jaisalmer, where both the records were found, is so near the territory conquered by the Muslims early in the eighth century A.D., that it is not altogether beyond the range of possibility, that the Hijra was current in this part of the country under a different name, and in the changed form of a solar year. This view is supported by the statement of Alberuni that the "era of the realm of Sindh precedes the era of Yazdajird by six years."[10] This means that there was an era current in Sindh whose initial year coincided with 624 A.D. i.e. the epoch of Bhāṭika era.

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[8] *Op. cit.*, 154.

[9] Dr. Bhandarkar took the initial year to be A.D. 624 (*Bh. List.*, p. 194, fn. 3).

Whatever we might think of the Hijra being current in India at so early a date—which cannot be regarded as more than a hypothesis in the present state of our knowledge—the statement of Alberuni and the two Jaisalmer records prove beyond doubt that one or more era, commencing about the same time as the so-called Harṣa era, was current in Sindh and Western India. As we have seen above, the possibility of a similar era in Nepal and Eastern India also rests on very plausible grounds. The epigraphic dates now ascribed to the so-called Harṣa era may, for all we know, really belong to one of these eras, or even to others at present unknown. It would be unwise therefore to regard, as a settled fact, the foundation of an era by Harṣavardhana to commemorate his accession in 606 A.D.

It must also be noted that the exact date of Harṣa's accession, viz., 606 A.D., which is now universally accepted, also rests solely on the statement of Alberuni that he found the date in the Kāśmīrian calendar. Scholars should not have unquestioningly accepted the authenticity of this calendar, particularly in respect of the date of a king who was not directly connected with that country, and is not even remotely alluded to by Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, which was composed only about a century later. It may be presumed that Kalhaṇa was well acquainted with the records existing in Kāśmīr which were likely to throw any light on the chronology of seventh century India, and yet it is well-known, that not to speak of dates of kings of other countries, those of his own country, as given by him, have proved to be erroneous by more than a quarter of a century. Besides, though Hiuen Tsang refers to some tradition associating Harṣa with Kāśmīr, Kalhaṇa does not mention him even once, though he refers to famous kings of Central India,

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[10] Alberuni, Tr. by Sachau, II. 49. In the Annotations, p. 375, it is remarked that 'the Arabic manuscript has *seven*, instead of six."

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living probably less than a century before Harṣa. In view of all this it is difficult to accept, without more satisfactory evidence, that the Kāśmīr calendar of the 11th century A.D., referred to by Alberuni, preserved correctly the exact date of Harṣa's accession. The doubt gains some strength from the fact that this date of Harṣa's accession cannot be reconciled with the Chinese statement "that the troubles in India which led to Śīlāditya's reign took place in the reign of T'ang Kao Tsu (A.D. 618 to 627)."[11] Nor is the date 606 A.D. quite compatible even with the statement of Hiuen Tsang. As Watters remarks, "it must have been in 641 or 642 that, in conversation with our pilgrim, Śīlāditya stated that he had then been sovereign for above thirty years," thus giving 612 for the year of his accession.[12] Watters further supports this conclusion by taking, on the authority of Hiuen Tsang, thirty-six years as the duration of Śīlāditya's reign, and then deducting this number from A.D. 648, the most probable date of Harṣa's death, according to the Chinese accounts.[13] Of course, Hiuen Tsang's statement could be explained away, and even the specific date supplied by the Chinese might be disregarded as inaccurate, if the date, 606 A.D. for Harṣa's accession, were known on unimpeachable authority. But this does not appear to be the case, and we have, therefore, to decide which to believe,—the specific date supplied by the Chinese, the clear implication of the statement of a contemporary writer who got his information from Harṣa himself, or the unconfirmed statement in a Kāśmīrian calendar of the 11th century A.D. whose reliability and authenticity are not known to us, and may justly be doubted on general grounds.

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[11] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I. 347.

[12] *Ibid.* On the eve of the great religious assembly at Prayāg which Hiuen Tsang attended during the early months of A.D. 643, Harṣa told him that "he (Harṣa) has been lord of India for thirty years and more," and further that he had "completed five of these assemblies and was now about to celebrate the sixth" (*Life*, pp. 183-84). As the assembly was held every five years, both the statements agree in placing Harṣa's accession thirty years before 643 i.e. about 612 or 613 A.D.

[13] Watters also notes (*ibid*) that according to the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* Harṣa died in A.D. 655, and the date of his accession in that case would fall in A.D. 619, in full agreement with the Chinese statement referred to above. The statement in the *Life*, however, seems to be obviously a mistake, if we take into consideration the context in which it is made. We are told that when Hiuen Tsang was staying with Jayasena in Yaṣṭivana, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva appeared to him one night in dream and prophesied, among other things, that "after ten years Śīlāditya rāja will be dead." After narrating this the biographer adds: "So towards the end of the Yung Hwei period (i.e. about 654-5 A.D.), Śīlāditya rāja died" (*Life.*, pp. 155-6). It is obvious that the last sentence, containing the specific date of Harṣa's death, was added by way of supporting the prophecy heard by Hiuen Tsang in the dream. Now as he passed through Yaṣṭivana in course of his journey in Magadha, we may date his visit there about 636-7 A.D. According to the *Life* he remained with Jayasena "first and last for two years" (p. 154), and we may put his residence there between 637 and 638 A.D. Counting ten years from this date, the death of Śīlāditya or Harṣa would fall in A.D. 648 which is supported by other Chinese evidence. The date 654-55 A.D.

It will thus be readily admitted that the accession of Harṣa-Śīlāditya in 606 A.D. and the foundation of an era to commemorate this event, though almost universally accepted by modern scholars, rest upon evidence which cannot be regarded as satisfactory by any standard. They are legacies from old times which later generations of scholars have accepted without question. But the moment we subject them to a proper scrutiny we realise the weakness of the foundations on which they rest. It is certain that even less important conclusions would not meet with the same general acceptance today if they are supported by the same type of evidence.

To guard against misunderstanding, I may clearly state that it is not the object of the present paper to disprove that Harṣa ascended the throne in A.D. 606 and founded an era to commemorate the event. All that is attempted here is to show that there are not at present sufficient grounds for this universally accepted belief.[14] New discoveries might bring to light satisfactory evidence in support of this view, but till then we are not warranted in regarding it as an historical fact which every student of Indian history should accept without question.

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is obviously an error, for Hiuen Tsang had left India more than ten years before that, and the prophecy would have proved false if Harṣa died in that year.

[14] After this paper was written I found that Shri D. N. Mookerji wrote an article in *NIA.*, III. 244, challenging this belief. It is, however, difficult to accept his view that all the dates in the so-called Harṣa era might be referred to Śaka era with 500 omitted. According to this view Harṣa's inscription, dated *Saṁ* 22, would be equivalent to A.D. 599. Even if we assume this to be the first year of Harṣa's reign, as Shri Mookerji has done (*op. cit.*, p. 247), it cannot be reconciled with the statement of Hiuen Tsang, noted above.

Fresh Light on the Deogarh Relief of Nara-Nārāyaṇa

PLATE I

The Gupta temple of Deogarh (in the Jhansi district U.P.) on the right bank of the river Vetravatī has interesting scenes in its niches taken from Brāhmaṇical iconography. Such are, for instance, "Viṣṇu on Ananta" in the southern niche, "Gajendra-Mokṣa" in the northern niche and "Nara-Nārāyaṇa" in the eastern niche. The last scene (pl. 1) has been known to scholars for a long time and has received at their hands a variety of interpretations. "Śiva,"[1] "Śiva as an ascetic" (*mahāyogī*),[2] "Śiva as Dakṣiṇāmūrti,"[3] "a scene between two ascetics,"[4] "Jñāna-Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Yoga-Dakṣiṇāmūrti"[5] and "the penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa on the Himālaya"[6] are the most important among the interpretations. While "Śiva," "Dakṣiṇāmūrti" and "two ascetics" are earlier pioneer interpretations, Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni's and B. Ch. Shastri's identification as "the penance of Nara and Nārāyaṇa on the Himālaya" will readily appeal to *sahṛdayas* being warranted by the details of the sculpture.

An attempt is made in this paper to throw further light on this relief, which is one of classical importance, presenting as it does all the characteristics of the style of sculpture of the Gupta period. Its date is according to Coomaraswamy "about 600 A.D.,"[7] and according to Smith and Codrington "the second half of the 5th century A.D."[8] That it belongs to a Vaiṣṇava shrine is borne out by the *Gajendra-mokṣa* and *Anantaśayana* scenes occurring in the same temple in the niches adjoining the Nara-Nārāyaṇa niche. According to the relevant verses from

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[1] Cunningham, *ASI., AR.*, vol. X, p. 107.

[2] Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 83, pl. 48.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1930, edited by K. De, B. Codrington, p. 12.

[4] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 80.

[5] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. II, pp. 279-80, pl. LXXI.

[6] D. R. Sahni, *A.P. R. Hindu and Buddhist Monuments*, N. Circle, 1917-18, p. 8; *AR., ASI.*, 1917-18, p. 7; B. Ch. Shastri, *Identification of a relief belonging to the Gupta-temple of Deogarh*, in *Acta Orientalia*, vol. XII, pp. 116-25.

[7] *HIIA.*, p. 80.

[8] *HFAIC.*, 1930, p. 12.

Viṣṇudharmottara quoted by Gopinatha Rao[9] "Nara" should be dark-green, have two hands and possess good strength, and "Nārāyaṇa" be of colour similar to the petals of a blue lotus, and have four arms. A *badarī* (jujube) tree full of fruits and bloom should be shown between them. On the ground under the *badarī* tree, they (Nara and Nārāyaṇa) should be shown on a chariot of 8 wheels, as each holding rosary, wearing antelope-hide (*kṛṣṇājina*), possessing self-restraint (*dama*), and with their matted locks of hair secured in a top-knot on the head." The same text has an additional verse which is of far-reaching importance to the student of Brāhmaṇical iconography. It reads as:—

> "*pādena caikena ratha-sṭhitena pādena caikena ca jānugena/*
> *kāryo Hariś=cātra Nareṇa tulyaḥ kṛṣṇōpi Nārāyaṇa=tulya =mūrtiḥ//*

Translation:—

"While Kṛṣṇa's form should be like Nārāyaṇa's (described above), Hari's form should be made similar to Nara's and he (Hari) should (also) be shown with one foot firmly placed on the *ratha* and the other bent in (=against) the knee (as perhaps in kneeling)."

This additional verse not only introduces us to Hari and Kṛṣṇa but also defines their correct pose in the chariot, as Kṛṣṇa standing or seated like Nārāyaṇa, and Hari kneeling perhaps in front. Are we not happy for this verse for, what does it suggest or foresee but the advent of Arjuna (Nara) kneeling on the chariot before Lord Kṛṣṇa in the "Dharmakṣetra Kurukṣetra" battle field as a result of which the famous song of the Lord (*Bhagavad-Gītā*) came out for the good of the world! The *Mahābhārata* tells us that Nara and Nārāyaṇa of the *badarī-vana* became later on Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. Gopinatha Rao takes the names Hari and Kṛṣṇa to stand for the same persons Nara and Nārāyaṇa.[10] Viṣṇu and Jiṣṇu are two other names that the *Mahābhārata* assigns to the same Nārāyaṇa and Nara.[11] But the verse in *Viṣṇudharmottara* seems to refer to Hari and Kṛṣṇa as distinct from Nara and Nārāyaṇa or in other words we have to deal with four, Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa, who as we shall see presently were brothers.

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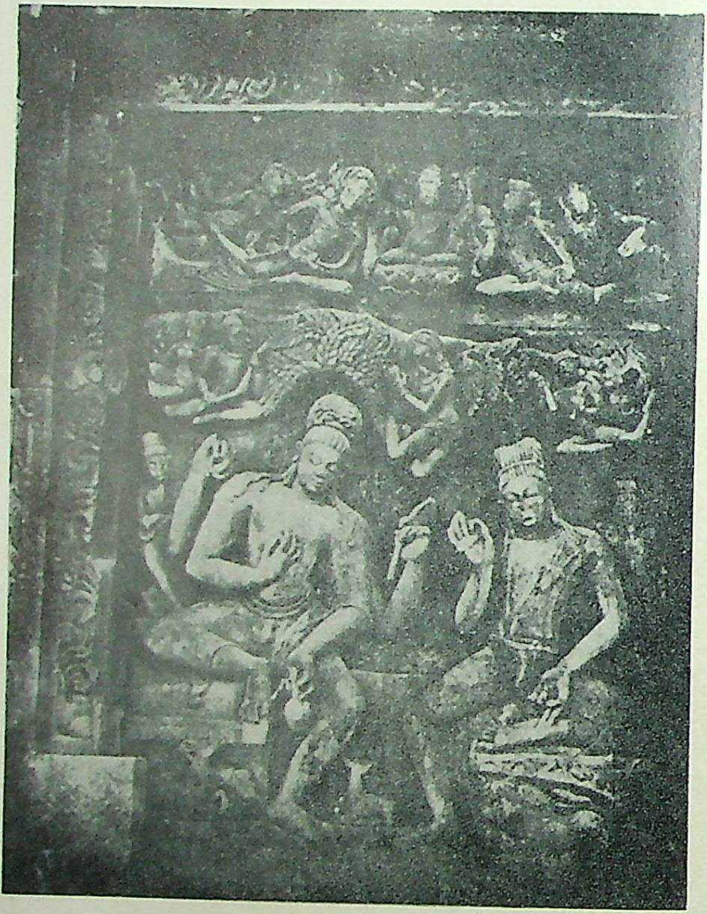
[9] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, App. C, *Pratimā-lakṣaṇāni*, p. 58-59, verses 1-4.

[10] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. I, p. 273.

[11] *Mahābhārata*, *Vana*, 47, 13.

PLATE I



NARA AND NĀRĀYAṆA, DEOGARH.
LATE 5th CENTURY A.C.

The story of Nara and Nārāyaṇa's penance on the Himālayas is graphically described in the *Mahābhārata*[12] and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*[13] The description of *Badarī-vana,* of the two brothers Nara and Nārāyaṇa, and of the forest scene including deer, lions etc. as found in the relief under description is after the *Mahābhārata* version. Even the two separate *pīṭhas* of Nara and Nārāyaṇa are referred to in the *Mahābhārata*[14] and the flanking ascetics[15] are also not omitted.

But there are more details in our relief (Pl. 1) which have to be explained besides the reference in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* verse to a Hari and a Kṛṣṇa in addition to a Nara and a Nārāyaṇa. A satisfactory explanation is furnished by the *Devī-Bhāgavata, skandha* IV, *adhyāyas* 5-10. In particular *adhyāya* 6 in it is the most useful. The story as given there is summarised here.—

Brahmā's *mānasika-putra* was Dharma, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa were Dharma's sons. Dharma married Dakṣa's daughters and through them had sons named Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. Hari and Kṛṣṇa took to *yogābhyāsa* while Nara and Nārāyaṇa repaired to Gandhamādana in Prāleyādri and performed a severe penance on *Gaṅgā-tīra* in *Badarikāśrama.* Their penance continued for 1,000 years and Śakra was perturbed. He created several obstacles to their penance such as sending wild animals to strike terror, and Kāma with Rati and Vasanta. Vasanta beautified nature and created trees such as *āṁra, bakula, tilaka, kiṁśuka, kadaṁba* etc., in full bloom with a view to disturb their penance. Though their trance was broken they kept firm in their resolve of penance knowing that Śakra was at the bottom of the mischief. The wild animals sent to cause terror were foiled and subdued, so over-powering was the spiritual personality of Nara and Nārāyaṇa. When two attempts of his, one through Vasanta and another through wild animals failed, the third and the last attempt of Indra was to send his celestial nymphs (*apsarasaḥ*) such as Tilottamā and Raṁbhā to tempt them. These nymphs danced and sang before the brothers, who were not however taken in. And Nārāyaṇa beat his thigh with his arm and created from out of his thigh a woman of superior beauty. Indra's nymphs felt little in her presence and were discomfited, so over-powering was her beauty. Because she came out of Nārāyaṇa's *ūru* (thigh) she was given the name Urvaśī.[16] Then Nara and Nārāyaṇa told them (the celestial nymphs) to lead Urvaśī to *svarga* and to Maghavān (Indra) as gift from them to Indra and give her a due place of honour.

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[12] *Śānti,* 344, 44; *Vana,* 47, 13; 90, 27.

[13] *Skandha* XI, *adhy.* 4, vv. 6 onwards.

[14] *Śānti,* 344, 44.—"*pīṭhayoś-copaviṣṭau tau.*"

[15] *Vana,* 90, 27 *Ṛṣayo..............namasyanti devaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ prabhuṁ//*

In the sculpture (plate 1) Urvaśī is shown hovering in the sky, between Nara and Nārāyaṇa and turning to her creator Nārāyaṇa paying him reverence as at the time of departing. Her hands are held in a pose suggesting either that she is praising (*stava*) Nārāyaṇa or taking leave of him or arranging her hands into *añjali*, or to speak correctly a *puṣpāñjali*, the idea being that if it is a *puṣpāñjali* she is folding her hands in worship and probably scattering flowers. This is indeed the spirit of *puṣpāñjali*.[17] She turns to Nārāyaṇa in particular because he is her creator, the more important of the two brothers, and also because he had decreed her future home as follows:—

> *"Upāyanam = iyaṁ bālā gacchat-vadya manoharā /*
> *Dattā = vābhyāṁ Maghavataḥ prīṇanāyō = rusaṁbhavā"*

Being told that her future home will be with Indra for whose pleasure the brothers (Nārāyāṇa and Nara) had given her as a *gift*, she takes leave of Nārāyaṇa.[18] The two separate pedestals of the brothers are the separate *pīṭhas* referred to in the *Mahābhārata*. The presence of other trees besides the *badarī* (the *kadaṁba*? above Nara) bespeaks *Vasanta-vilāsa* or nature at her best, which was one of Indra's attempts to disturb the penance of the brothers. The two *ṛṣis*, one behind Nārāyaṇa and the other behind Nara, represent the multitude of *ṛṣis* who according to the *Mahābhārata* came to *Badarī-vana* to worship the *prabhu*, Nārāyaṇa. The lion crouching and with its legs crossed below Nara's *pīṭha* is a representative of the wild animal class sent by Indra to terrify the brothers. Its subdued or tamed condition underneath the *pīṭha* is the obvious spirit of the sculpture. The three recumbent deer in front of Nārāyaṇa in an attitude of utter comfort and easiness are silent recorders of the spirit of defeat of the wild animals and the consequent air of safety and composure that innocent animals such as deer enjoyed in the *Badarī-vana*, thanks to Nārāyaṇa. Brahmā on lotus with flanking Vidyādhara couples occurring on a frieze above the relief not only acquaints us with a convention of Gupta sculpture of the period[19] but also seems to reveal the ingenuity of the master-sculptor of this relief who has apparently introduced Pitāmaha, as Brahmā is popularly known, not only to be a witness to the scene portrayed below, viz., Nara Nārāyaṇa's penance, but also to suggest his actual relationship as grand father to Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are his grand-sons through Dharma. The grand-father (Pitāmaha) sits with evident pleasure and pride on a place of vantage to enjoy the grand spectacle of his grand-sons' penance and victory over the forces of Indra! This relief may be in a way the Brāhmaṇical counterpart of the well-known story of the Buddha's victory over Māra's forces.[20]

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[16] *Devibhāgavata*, Sk. IV, Adh. 6, vv. 33-36:—
Varākyaḥ kā imāḥ sarvāḥ sṛjāmy = adya navāḥ kila
Etābhyo divyarūpāś = ca darśayāmi tapobalam / / 33 / /
Iti saṁcintya manasā kareṇoruṁ pratāḍyavai /
Taraso = tpādayāmāsa Nāriṁ sarvāṅgasundarīm / / 34 / /
Nārāyaṇorusaṁbhūtā URVAŚĪ = ti tataḥ śubhā /
Dadṛśuḥ tāḥ sthitāḥ tatra vismayaṁ paramaṁ yayuḥ / / 36 / /

[17] *Cf.* Udayana, *Kusumāñjali*, first verse—"*Satpakṣa-prasarah*……………………
……………………*Nyāya-prasūnāñjaliḥ*."

[18] *Cf.* Śakuntalā's departure from *Kaṇvāśrama* in Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalaṁ*, IV *aṅka*.

It may not be out of place to note that Nara and Nārāyaṇa become later on Arjuna and Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa), and have afforded a grand theme for both the artist and the poet to incorporate. I refer to "Arjuna's penance to obtain Pāśupatāstra" which the great poet Bhāravi (600 A.D.) has immortalised in his classical poem "Kirātārjunīyam." And this poem has been translated as it were into stone by the Pallava King Mahendravarman (7th century A.D.) at Mahābalipuram in South India,[21] where on the face of a big rock we have a vertical representation of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, as Ārjuna above in penance and Acyuta (Kṛṣṇa) below in a shrine.[22] In the Deogarh relief we have a horizontal representation of the two brothers Nara and Nārāyaṇa themselves. The Gupta as well as the Pallava periods appear to comprise a golden age of Indian art when noble themes and great poems were requisitioned by great artists into their service. The *Kirātārjunīyam* (or Arjuna's penance) of Bhāravi and the "Nara-Nārāyaṇa penance" of *Devībhāgavata* recorded here are two of the many examples known to history. Incidentally this also helps us to determine the date of *Devī-bhāgavata* as not later than the 6th century A.D., as we know from the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II that Bhāravi flourished in the early part of the 7th century A.D.[23]

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[19] Brahmā also occurs above in Deogarh in the *Ananta-śayana* relief; see Smith, *HFAIC.*, pl. 49.

[20] I owe this suggestion to Prof. J. N. Banerji.

[21] T. N. Ramachandran, *The Royal artist Mahendra Varman* I, pp. 317-318.

[22] *Bhāravi*, *Kirātārjunīyam*, 12th *sarga*, vv. 33, 35.

One more interesting point to be noted in our study of the Deogarh relief is the advent of Urvaśī. Urvaśī, who in the present story acquires her birth and place of beauty among Indra's nymphs, works out her career later on and achieves her antithesis in the "Arjuna's penance" episode, where unable to entice Arjuna by her charms when he visited Indra after acquiring the *pāśupatāstra,* she cursed him with impotence thereby predicting Arjuna's temporary role as the impotent Bṛhannaḷā in Virāṭa's court.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

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[23] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, pp 3-7.

Bearing of the numismatics on the history of the tribal republics in ancient India

Republican form of government was known in India as early as fifth century B.C. Pāṇini refers to a number of republics of his times in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Buddhist texts also record the names of many republics. Republics are also referred to by Kauṭilya. The Greek writers give a long list of tribal republics with which Alexander came into contact. From these sources a long list of the republican tribes, which existed in Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods in India can be prepared; but nothing is known of them from the archæological sources.

The coins existed in all these periods and it is very likely that many of these tribes might have issued their own coins; but these coins are the punch-marked coins with four or five symbols and have no inscriptions. So, for the present we are unable to interpret the symbols and little could be known about their issuers. But in the latter part of the 3rd century B.C., inscription found place on the Indian coins and we know a number of republics, which existed exclusively in the north-west India, having independent coinage. Some of these republics were known in earlier periods from the sources referred to above and others are new and are known for the first time in this period. From this time onward till the 4th century A.D. we get coins of various tribal republics.

Great deal of material has been garnered about these republics; but so far as I know, no attempt has yet been made to study the exact bearing the numismatic data throw on the history of the tribal republics in ancient India and to reconstruct the history of the country, which is still so obscure. In this paper I propose to examine the numismatic evidences in this very light.

From the coins we know the following republics: Āgreya,[1] Ārjunāyana,[2] Audumbara,[3] Kulūta,[4] Kuṇinda,[5] Mālava,[6] Rājanya,[7]

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[1] *JNSI.*, vol. IV, p. 49.

[2] *BMC.*, intro., p. lxxxii: p. 121

[3] *Ibid.*, intro., p. lxxxiii; p. 122.

[4] *Ibid.*, intro., p. c; p. 158.

[5] *Ibid.*, intro., p. ci; p. 159.

[6] *Ibid.*, intro., p. civ.

[7] *Ibid.*, intro., p. cxxii; p. 210.

Śibi,[8] Trigarta,[9] Vemaka,[10] Vṛṣṇi[11] and Yaudheya.[12] The palæography of the legends on these coins show that all these republics were not contemporaneous. On the basis of the palæography of the coins the tribes may be chronologically classified in the following groups:—

2nd century B.C.	Āgreya, Mālava, Rājanya, Śibi, Trigarta and Yaudheya.
1st century B.C.	Audumbara, Kuṇinda, Vṛṣṇi-Rājanya, and Vemaka.
About 100 A.D.	Kulūta.
2nd century A.D.	Kuṇinda and Yaudheya.
2nd to 4th century A.D.	Ārjunāyana, Mālava and Yaudheya.

Of these tribes Āgreya, Mālava and Śibi are the tribes which are mentioned by the Greek writers.[13] Āgreya, Rājanya, Trigarta and Yaudheya are mentioned by Pāṇini.[14] It is better to admit therefore that these tribes existed at least as early as 5th and 4th century B.C. Among the contemporary literature, Āgreya, Mālava, Rājanya, Śibi, Trigarta and Yaudheya are referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.[15] Varāhamihira also refers to Mālava, Rājanya, Śibi, Trigarta and Yaudheya.[16] Some of these tribes are mentioned in later literature also.

Now if we examine the legends of the coins of the tribes, which are dated in 2nd century B.C., we shall see that they have the following legends:—

Āgreya	*Agodaka Agācha janapadasa.*[17] *Agāchamitrapadabhiṣyāyināḥ.*[18]
Rājanya	*Rājaña janapadasa.*[19]

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[8] *BMC.*, intro., p. cxxiii; p. 213.

[9] *Ibid.*, intro., p. cxxxix.

[10] *Ibid.*, intro., p. cliv.

[11] *Ibid.*, intro., p. clv.

[12] *Ibid.*, intro., p. cxlvii; p. 265.

[13] McCrindle: *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 367; 234; 232. Greek authors have mentioned Āgreya under various names. Agalassi, Agesinae, Acensoni, Argesinae. For identification see *JNSI.*, vol. IV, pp. 52-53.

[14] *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, IV. 1. 99; IV. 2. 53; V. 3. 116; IV. 1. 178.

[15] *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, XXX; Upāyanaparva, XLVIII.

[16] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XVI.

[17] *JNSI.*, vol. IV, p. 51.

[18] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. X, p. 279.

[19] *BMC.*, pp. 210-212.

Śibi	*Śibi janapadasa.*[20] *Majhamikāya Śibi janapadasa.*[21]
Trigarta	*Trakatajanapadasa*[22]
Yaudheya	*Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhāñyake.*[23]

The Mālava coins of this period are not known;[21] but their existence in the 2nd century B.C. is known from one of their seals found at Rairh in Jaipur district which bear the legend *Mālavajānapadasa.*[25] I would like to mention along with these tribes, the name of the tribe Vemaka, though it is dated in the next century. The coins of this tribe also has the legend on their coins as *Vemaka janapadasa.*[26]

All these contemporary republics, except Yaudheya, have a similar legend giving the name of the tribe and calling themselves as *janapada*. In a passages of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, the term *janapada* is stated to be opposed to *Rājan*. Thus according to Prof. Bhandarkar it denotes an autonomous province as opposed to city state (*negama*). He is further of opinion that all these states issued coins as the sign of their political power, thus *janapada* may be regarded as democracy.[27] It may be pointed out here that two of these *janapadas* Mālava and Yaudheya, which survived in the 3rd-4th century A.D. used another term *gaṇa* for themselves instead of *janapada*. Rājanya, who are *janapada* in the present period, are designated as *gaṇa* on their joint issues of coins, with Vṛṣṇis. Dr. Jayaswal has discussed the significance of this term *gaṇa* in his *Hindu Polity* and shown that it was the same as modern democracy.[28] The references quoted by Dr. Jayaswal in support of his suggestion, belong to much earlier date than these coins. I doubt if the word *gaṇa* meant the same thing later in this period. Undoubtedly the words *janapada* and

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20 *JNSI.*, vol. IX, p. 82.

21 *BMC.*, intro., p. cxxiv.

22 *Ibid.*, intro., p. cxl.

23 *Technique of casting coins in Ancient India*, p. 10.

24 A large number of coins have been found of Mālavas at Karkotanagar, which are assigned by Cunningham and Carllyle to the period 250 B.C. to 250 A.D. and by Rapson and Smith to 150 B.C. to 350 A.D. But Allan has rightly pointed out that they do not belong to the period earlier than 2nd century A.D. (*BMC., intro.*, p. cvi).

25 *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 71.

26 *BMC.*, intro., p. cliv.

27 *Some Aspects of Hindu Polity*, pp. 118-121.

28 *Hindu Polity*, p. 20.

gaṇa referred to democracy; but the use on the coins suggest that they meant two different forms of the same. The distinction between the two requires our attention. I think *gaṇa* on these coins meant some sort of federation.

Yaudheya did not follow their contemporaries in their legends and did not use the word *janapada;* instead they have used their names in plural. This is significant. It shows that they were some thing more than mere *janapada*. Possibly they had some different form of democracy than that of their contemporaries. Most likely they were a confederate tribe.

Mitrapada is a new term, used by the Āgreyas instead of *janapada*. They have used the term *janapada* on one type of coins and *mitrapada* on the other type. This term is probably not known in the Hindu polity or elsewhere. Dr. Barnett had discussed this term while dealing with these coins and has interpreted this term as 'allied state or confederate.'[29] I am unable to say any thing about it but it may be pointed out that while the coins having the word *janapada* mention the name of locality Agrodaka, to which the Āgreyas belonged, the others having the term *mitrapada* ignore the place name. It is not unlikely that they may have had some sort of alliance with some other tribes or groups.

Another notable feature of the legends of these coins is that while Mālava, Rājanya, Trigarta and Vemaka do not mention the names of their locality, Āgreya, Śibi and Yaudheya do it. Śibi have got two types of legends on their coins. One is only *Śibijanapadasa* and the other has *Majhimikāya*, the place name, added to it. The coins with the place name are a few decades later in date than coins without it. What led them to add the place name, there is no positive evidence. But it is not unlikely that they might have been divided in more than one group and one of them on migration have added the place name. Same might have been the case with the Āgreya. They in the confederate (*mitrapada*) form did not use the place name. but they used it when they might have lost the confederation or *vice versa.*

However it is further noteworthy that Āgreya, Śibi and Yaudheya, who have the place name on the coins were neighbours in one compact area, while those, who have not the place name on the coin, with the exception of Mālava, resided in another compact area. Mālava were living along with the earlier group.

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[29] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* vol. X, p. 279.

Āgreya are described as the people of Agrodaka on the coins and Agrodaka has been identified with the modern Agrohā in Hissar district.[30] Their coins have been found at Agrohā[31] and Barwālā,[32] a few miles east to Agrohā. The coin moulds of Yaudheya with the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ Bahudhāñyake*, have been found in a very large number at a place in the neighbourhood of the town of Rohatak.[33] They have been referred to as Rohitakas in the *Mahābhārata.*[34] Bahudhāñyaka is synonymous with Hariana tract of the Punjab which includes Rohatak. The coins of Yaudheya of this type are found in this area. Śibi, as known from their coins belonged to Mādhyamikā, which has been identified as Nāgarī near Chitor in the western Rajputana. Their coins have been found in abundance in that area. The Śibi in the times of the Greek invasion were in Shorekot near Jhāng; but during this period they appear to have migrated to the Rajputana.

Like Śibi, Mālava also lived during the Greek invasion in the Upper Punjab in the valley of Rāvī and have been referred by the Greek writers as Malloi. It appears that along with the Śibi they too retired by this time to the south and were in the Eastern Rajputana. No coins of Mālava have been found in the Punjab, nor any coin of second century B.C. is known from any other place. Their coins, no doubt have been found in abundance in Karkotnagar in the Jaipur district, but they are of a very late date i.e., of second to early fourth century A.D. However a seal found at Rairh in an excavation shows that they occupied that area in second century B.C.[35]

Thus we see that Āgreya lived in Hissar district, Yaudheya in the district of Rohtak, Śibi in the western and Mālava in the eastern Rajputana, bordering the Punjab. It is thus clear that all these tribes flourished in the second century B.C. in a compact area of the eastern Punjab and Rajputana.

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[30] *JNSI.*, vol. IV, p. 50.

[31] Found in the excavations by the Archæological department in 1938-39, the report of which, it is regrettable, is still unpublished.

[32] *BMC.*, intro., p. clvii.

[33] *The technique of casting coins in Ancient India*, pp. 7-8.

[34] Sabhāparva, XXXII. 4-5.

[35] *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 71.

Of the other group of tribes, who did not have the place name on their coins, Rājanya have been located in Hoshiarpur district as their coins were mostly found there.[36] Trigarta people belonged to modern Jālandhara district, the land between Rāvī and Sutlej. Jālandhara and Trigarta seem to be synonymous.[37] Vemaka is possibly the same as *Vaiyamaka* mentioned in *Mahābbārata* and are placed with Audumbara.[38] Both these tribes are known contemporary in the next century. The coins of the two are very similar and have been found in Hoshiarpur district. It thus appears that all these tribes occupied the districts of Hoshiarpur and Jalundhara. Trigarta probably collapsed soon after, since we do not find their coinage in the subsequent centuries. Rājanya survived in their own territory, as we find them in the first century B.C. along with the Vṛṣṇis in confederation.

Lastly, it may be pointed out about the tribal republics of the second century B.C. that coins of all these tribes had their legends exclusively in Brāhmī. Only exception to this are Rājanya, who issued some coins with Brāhmī legends and the others with Kharoṣṭhī. The coins of two scripts show that one succeeded the other. Brāhmī inscription appears to me earlier and most likely the coins with it were issued when they had not come across the foreign invaders. Kharoṣṭhī represents the later period.

In first century B.C. we have a coin type with the legend *Vṛṣṇi-rājajñyagaṇasya tratarasya*. Significantly the legend on these coins is in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī both. This legend is an enigma to the scholars. If we exclude the word *tratarasa*, the legend becomes simple and shows that the *janapada* of the legends of the coins of earlier period, has been replaced by the word *gaṇa;* and the legend means the coin of the *gaṇa* of Vṛṣṇi and Rājanya. The word *Rājanya* of the legend has been interpreted by the scholars in various ways, not realising the existence of the Rājanya tribe. Any discussion on them need not detain us here.

Vṛṣṇi are a well-known people, who according to *Mahābbārata* lived in Mathurā; but went to Dwārkā when they were hard-pressed by Jarāsandha. They were according to the Paurāṇic traditions an offshoot of the Aila race. Vṛṣṇi, the founder of the clan is supposed to be brother of Andhaka, the founder of the clan of the same name. In the literary works Andhaka and Vrsni are mentioned together, which shows that they had a federal organisation. Pāṇini mentions Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi league; but any evidence of their material culture as exemplified by archæological remains is lacking. Rājanya as a tribal republic are known in the preceding century. Therefore, it can be well inferred that Vṛṣṇi and Rājanya might have formed a confederation among themselves and issued coins in their joint name and called themselves as *gaṇa*. Now *tratarasa* is a quite new addition to the legend, which means 'of the saviour' or 'of the protector.' This is obviously derived from the Greek coins where we find the Indo-Greek kings using this epithet in their Kharoṣṭhī legends. It is very likely that these tribes by using this epithet had pronounced that they were the tribes who protected or saved their land from the hands of the foreign invaders. Whatever be its significance, it is clear that by this time the Indian republics were influenced by the foreign invaders.

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[36] *BMC.*, intro., p. cxxiii.

[37] Stein's note in his translation of the *Rajatarangiṇi* iii, 100; Cunningham, *ASR.*, V, 148.

[38] Upāyanaparva, XLVIII, 12.

Contemporary to the Vṛṣṇi-Rājanya confederation were the tribes Vemaka, Kuṇinda and Audumbara, who have also inscribed the legends on their coins in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī both. The legends on their coins are as follows:—

Vemaka	*Vijaya-rañа* (*or Vijayaka-rajño*) *Vemikasa Rudravarmasa.*[39]
Kuṇinda	*Rājñah* (*raña*) *Kuṇiṁdasa* (or *sya*) *Amoghabhūtis* (or *sya*) *mahārājasa* (or *sya*).[40]
Audumbara	*Mahadevasa raña Sivadasasa Odumbarisa.*
	Mahadevasa raña Rudradasasa Odumbarisa.
	Mahadevasa raña Dharaghosasa Odumbarisa.
	Bhagavata Mahadevasa raja-raña Odumbarisa.[41]

The most noteworthy common feature of these legends is that they are entirely different in nature, from the legends we have so far discussed. None of these tribes mention the form of their tribe, if they were *janapada* or *gaṇa*. Instead we find the name of a person along with the name of the tribe and the person has the title of *Rājā* or *Mahārāja*. It appears that in this period among these tribes, person had won over the sovereignty of the whole tribe and he had assumed the title *Rājā* or *Mahārāja*, which is seen for the first time, used among the Indian rulers. Most likely these tribes adopted the title influenced by the Greek invaders, and probably they did not mean 'king' in its strict sense, but had applied it to their leader.

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[39] *BMC.*, intro., p. lxxxv.

[40] *Ibid.*, intro., p. ci.

[41] *Ibid.*, intro., p. lxxxiv.

We have seen the coins of Vemaka, wherein they have described themselves as *janapada*. Here we find their coins with the name of their leader, who not only adopts the title of *rājā*, but also calls himself as *Vijayaka* (victorious). This epithet is like that of *tratarasa*, used by the Vṛṣṇi-Rājanya, and probably shows their independence and some victory over the Greeks.

The legend on the Kuṇinda coins *Rājñaḥ Kuṇiṁdasa Amoghabhūtisa mahārājasa* has been translated by the scholars as 'of king Amoghabhutī the Kuṇinda king.'[42] The use of title *Rājā* and *Mahārāja* together appears to me ridiculous. I do not think that both the titles have been used as meaning the same thing, *i.e.*, the king. I suspect that on these coins *Rājñaḥ* is misinscribed for the word *Rājañaḥ* and refers to the tribe Rājanya, whom we have seen first as *janapada* then as *gaṇa* with Vṛṣṇis. It is not unlikely that they might have had an alliance with the Kuṇindas also. I have no evidence for the present in support of this suggestion and I feel that there is sufficient room for objections against it; but then there is no other way to explain this problem. Only in this light, we can understand the significance of the word *mahārāja*, which is unknown elsewhere in this period. *Mahārāja*, most likely meant a bigger title to the leader of a confederation than the title of the leader of a *janapada*.

The Audumbara coins have an additional word *mahādevasa* along with the name of the *rājā* and the tribe. It has been suggested as the regal title of the Audumbara leader. But such a high title, which is used for God Śiva, cannot be imagined for the leaders of the tribe, who themselves were devotees of Śiva. The Śiva is represented on their coins, with a temple and trident.[43] Therefore, I venture to suggest that the word *mahādeva* refers here to god Śiva himself and suggest that the coin belonged 'to god Śiva, to king Sivadasa (or others) and to the tribe Audumbara.' This is supported by the coins which have the legend *Bhagavata Mahadevasa rajarana*. This legend has been translated as 'Mahādeva, the worshipper of Bhagavat.'[44] But the existence of the very trident shows that the issuer cannot be the worshipper of Bhagvat. Therefore to me it means 'of the almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings.' The rule in the name of any god is not known in any treatise on ancient Indian polity; but we find in subsequent period coins issued by Kuṇinda and Yaudheya in the name of their presiding deities. This shows that there was at one time the tendency of a representative administration in the name of a god.

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[42] *BMC.*, intro., p. cii.

[43] *JNSI.*, vol. IV, p. 55.

Apart from these individual peculiarities, the coins of all these tribes are remarkably common in many ways. The Vemaka coins are so similar to the Audumbara coins that they were never suspected to be other than that of Audumbara.[45] The resemblance of the Audumbara coins with the Kuṇinda is also recognised by Allan.[46] The findspots of the coins suggest that the Audumbara should be located in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kāngrā district, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts. The Vemaka were also somewhere in this territory since their coins were found in Hoshiarpur district. The Kuṇinda coins suggest that they occupied the narrow strip of land at the foot of the Śivalik hills between Jamuna and Sutlej and extended upto Garhwal. Thus all these tribes occupied an area which included the hilly portion of the Punjab and the districts of Kāngrā, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur.

Most likely the Audumbara were soon ousted by the Mitra kings of Pāñcāla. The coins of Bhānumitra, Āryamitra, Mahīmitra etc. have been found in this area and have been attributed to Audumbara.[47] Elsewhere[48] I have discussed these coins and concluded that they belonged to Mitra dynasty of Pāñcāla who succeeded the Audumbara in this area. The Vemaka also were most likely swept off, with the Audumbara. We do not hear of these tribes. Only the Kuṇinda existed, but they retired from their political activities for the coming few centuries. Some of the coins of Kuṇinda are found exclusively with Brāhmī legend, which probably belong to the period when Kharoṣṭhī had lost its importance with the fall of the Indo-Greek kings, or other foreign rulers.

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[44] *BMC.*, intro., lxxxv.

[45] *Ibid.*, intro., p. lxxxv.

[46] *Ibid.*, intro., p. lxxxvi.

[47] *Ibid.*, intro., p. lxxxvi.

[48] The successors of the Mauryas in Madhyadeśa. This paper will be published shortly in the *Journal of the Banaras Hindu University.*

In the first century A.D. we hear nothing of the tribal republics. Only towards the end of the century, we come across a series of coins with the legend *Rājña Kulūtasya Vīrayaśasya.*[49] The coins have the legend in Brāhmī and only few Kharoṣṭhī letters have survived on the reverse of the coins. Some of the symbols of these coins are found on the Kuṇinda coins in a slight different form. Allan says that they were the neighbours of Kuṇinda. Cunningham places them with the Audumbara. But the Audumbara did not survive in this period. Kuṇinda were surviving in the hilly tracts. So the Kulūta probably occupied the Kullu valley in the Kāngrā district. This shows that this tribal state, about whom we know little in the early period, anyhow cropped up and survived in a corner of the Punjab, during the onslaught of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas.

While we know of the activities of the tribes in the hilly tract, the tribes that were living in the south-eastern Punjab and Rajputana are not known as active till the second century A.D. In the second century A.D. we find only Mālava and Yaudheya as existing. What happened of the Śibis, we have no information. Āgreya probably migrated during this period in the south to Āgar in Central India and to Āgrā in the Uttar Pradeśa. No clear evidence is available to this suggestion, except the traditions that are prevalent among the Agrawālas, who claim for them Agohā as their original home. In the hills existed only the Kuṇinda.

About the Mālava and Kuṇinda, we have little information from any source, but about the Yaudheya we know that some time in the first century B. C., they migrated from the *Bahudhāñyaka* country to the south-east when they felt pressure from the foreign invaders of the north-west and occupied the north-western areas of Rajputana upto Bharatpur. Then some time earlier than 150 A.D. when defeated by Rudradaman I, they retired to the hilly region of the Himalayas as the neighbours of the Kuṇinda.

The coins of Kuṇinda and Yaudheya, being neighbours in the Śivalika hills, have striking similarities. We do not find Kharoṣṭhī, legend on coins any more. The motifs engraved on the coins of both the tribes are common in many respects. The legends on their coins

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49 *BMC.*, intro., p. c.

also have a common feature. We have noticed in the early period the emphasis was laid by the tribes on their nature as *janapada* or *gaṇa*. Then we find the tribes mentioning the name of their leader. But here on the coins, we find that prominence is given to their gods. Most likely this trait Kuṇinda adopted from the Audumbara, who were their neighbour and from them adopted the Yaudheya, when they in turn became their neighbour.

On the Yaudheya coins, we have the legend *Yaudheya Bhagavata Svamino Brahmaṇya* (*sa* or *sya*) (of Brahmaṇya (Kārtikeya) the divine lord of Yaudheya) or *Bhāgavata svamino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* (of Kumāra the divine lord Brahmaṇyadeva)[50] The name Yaudheya is mentioned on only a rare type of silver coin otherwise it is conspicuously absent from the coinage. Similarly Kuṇinda do not place their names on the coins. They have the legend *Bhāgavata chatreśvara mahatmanah*[15] (of the almighty Mahādeva (Chatreśvara) the great soul). This shows that these tribes ruled themselves in the name of their presiding gods. This was done by the Audumbaras, in the earlier period, but they had on some of the coins the name of their leader and tribe along with the name of the god. Here these tribes lost their identities in their gods. This is a very remarkable feature in the history of the republican states of ancient India; and presents before us an unknown nature of the theocratic government.[51a]

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[50] *BMC.*, intro., pp. cxlix-cl.

[51] *Ibid.* intro., p. ciii.

[51a] While these pages were passing through the press, I came to know of a seal of third-fourth century A.D. from Bhita with inscription *Śri Vindhya-bedhana mahārājasya maheśvara mahāsenatiśriṣṭha-rājasya vṛdhadhvājasya Gautamiputrasya.* This inscription has been translated by Sir John Marshall as 'of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamiputra Vṛṣadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, *who had made over his kingdom to the great lord Kārtikeya* (Mahāsena).' He has suggested that the seal 'seems to indicate that in the ancient times there may have existed a pious custom, according to which rulers on the occasion of their accession entrusted their kingdom to their *iṣṭadevatā* and considered themselves mere agent.' (*ASI.*, *A.R.*, 1911-12, p. 51). If this interpretation of *Mahāsenātisṛṣṭa* is correct, it shows 'administration in the name of gods' was not unknown. Dr. R. B. Pandey of Banares Hindu University pointed out to me that this practice was current in this country till recent Before the merger of the Travancore and Cochin states in the Indian Union, they were being administered by their ruling chiefs in the name of god Padmanābha.

After this period we do not hear of the Kuṇinda. Most likely they merged with the Yaudheya, who are well known for the next two centuries. In the third and early fourth century A.D. the Yaudheya are known in a definite locality of the Kāngrā valley. The moulds of the coins, which they issued in this period, have been found in numbers at Sunet near Ludhiānā.[52] It shows that it was their centre. The coins of this period have a simple legend *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya.*[53] This shows that they had again returned to the constitution which had the importance of the *gaṇa* than the presiding deity or the leader.

The Mālava tribes, which was known in the second century B.C. as living in the eastern Rajputana, continued to live in this area all along this period, though their coins of the date earlier than second century A.D. are not known. Most likely they were eclipsed with the rise of the Western Kṣatrapas. They could issue coins only after the Śaka kingdom was weakened and they asserted their independence. The coins of this tribe are known with various legends, but the coins that they issued mostly have the legend *Mālavānāṁ jayah* or *Mālava gaṇasya jaya.*[54]

We find another tribe existing in this period and they are Ārjunāyana. Ārjunāyana are mentioned by Pāṇini; but we have no other evidence of their existence earlier than this period i.e. second century A.D. The coins of these have the legend *Ārjunāyanānāṁ jayah.*[55] But the coins are extremely rare. Only two specimens are so far published. Allan has assigned a date of 100 B.C. to these coins; but I do not consider them belonging to such an early date. The coins published are much worn and on them only a few letters survive as clear.[56] The letters that survive show that they may be as late as 200 A.D. The language of the coins is Sanskrit and the style is the same as the coins of Yaudheya and Mālava issued in the second-third centuries A.D. So the tribe may well be ascribed as contemporaneous with them.

In Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, these three tribes are mentioned as the frontier states of the Gupta kingdom. This shows that they were neighbours; and as such, they had issued coins with similar legends. We definitely know that Yaudheya were in the Kāngrā valley and the Mālava in the Jaipur territory. Therefore the Ārjunāyana might have been living somewhere in between the two.

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[52] *The technique of casting coins in Ancient India.* p. 32.

[53] *BMC.*, intro., p. cli.

[54] *Ibid.*, intro., p. cv.

[55] *Ibid.* intro., p. lxxxii.

[56] *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV, 10-11.

With these observations based on numismatic evidences, we may well conclude that with the downfall of the Mauryan empire, tribal republics, which were known before the rise of the empire, again came out as independent states in two groups, one flourishing in the South-east Punjab and Rajputana and the other in the hilly tracts round about Kangra valley. In the Kangra valley upto second century A.D. new tribes cropped up now and then, and the old ones either lost their identity or merged with other tribes in some form of federation or other. Earlier the sovereignty of these states vested into the whole tribe, but soon it went to the hands of their leaders and they called themselves Rājā or Mahārāja. At one period they tried a new kind of theocratic form of government—representative rule in the name of gods. But soon they reverted to *gaṇa* system of government. Most likely these tribes were not disturbed by the foreign invasions.

But the tribes that were in the south-east Punjab were disturbed by the invasion of the Indo-Bactrians and they moved further south in the Rajputana. But there we find surviving only two tribes Mālava and Yaudheya. They did not live in peace as they had to struggle with the Śaka Kṣatrapas. Śaka Kṣatrapas ousted the Yaudheya and they had to take refuge in the hills. Mālava, most likely, had to submit to the enemies and wait for their chances. They could feel free only in the third century A.D. But with the rise of the Gupta imperialism, these remnants of the tribal republics too vanished for ever and India lost the rule of democracy.*

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

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King Sātavāhana of the Coins

Three coins of king Sātavāhana have been published in recent years; two of them by Prof. Mirashi[1] and one by Dr. Dikshit and Shri Joglekar[2]. The legends on the coins published by Mirashi have been read by him as *Raṁño siri-Sādavāha(nasa)*[3] and *(Raṁño) siri-Sādavāha(nasa)*[4], while Dr. Dikshit and Shri Joglekar read on their coin as *(Rāño) S(i)ri Sadavāha(no)*[5]. Dr. Altekar suggests that the legend on the last coin may be reconstructed as *Rāño Sadavāhanasa*[6]; in fact, it may be read as *Raño siri Sādavāhanasa*. One of the two coins published by Mirashi is of lead[7] and the other two are of copper. The two copper coins are of the same type and fabric, except that one of them is smaller in size and lighter in weight[8]; but the lead coin published by Mirashi differs from the copper coins in weight, shape, symbols, size and its fabric[9], the details of which need not be described here. The legend on all of them appears to have been the same, though in its complete form it is not impressed on any. The different readings of the legend given by Prof. Mirashi, Dikshit and Joglekar, and Dr. Altekar do not make any difference with regard to their attribution or their study here.

On the basis of these coins, Prof. Mirashi is of the opinion that "a king named Sātavāhana flourished in the Deccan in the last quarter of the third century B.C.[10]" and that "the coin is that of king Sātavāhana who was plainly the founder of the dynasty known after him[11]". He writes further that "the family was, therefore, evidently founded by a king named Sātavāhana......, but the Purāṇas nowhere mention such a king in the list of the so-called Andhra kings[12]". In his opinion king Sātavāhana of the coins preceded Simuka or Sindhuka of the Purāṇas by a few generations, though the relationship between the two he could not determine.

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[1] *JNSI.*, vol. VII, pp. 1 ff.; vol. XI, pp. 5 ff.
[2] *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. VI, pp. 141-42.
[3] *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 1.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 5.
[5] *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. VI, p. 141.
[6] *JNSI.*, vol. VII, pp. 103-4.
[7] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, pp. 1 ff.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 5 ff.; vol. VII, pp. 1 ff.
[9] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, pp. 5-6.
[10] *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 3.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[12] *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 2.

With regard to the age of the coins, while editing the copper coin, Prof. Mirashi says that "the characters of the legend are somewhat earlier than those of the Nānāghāṭ inscription". He, therefore, assigned it on paleographic grounds to the last quarter of the third century B.C.,[13] but when editing the lead coin[14] of the same king, he writes that it belonged to about the same age as the Nānāghaṭ inscription. Since the Nānāghāṭ inscription is generally thought to belong to the first half of the second century B.C.,[15] from what Mirashi says it means that the coin also belonged to the first half of the second century B.C. Consequently, the characters of the legend on the copper coin, which are not different from those on the lead coin, cannot be earlier than those of the Nānāghāṭ inscription of queen Nāganikā. This makes the two statements of Mirashi with regard to the age of the coins of king Sātavāhana contradictory.

The whole theory of Prof. Mirashi that king Sātavāhana of the coins was the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty and that he preceded Simuka, the founder according to the Purāṇas, by a few generations is built upon the paleographic characteristics of the Brāhmī character of the legend on the coins. He has given no other argument in support of his view.

But the forms of the Brāhmī characters on these coins do not differ from one another. Therefore, in the absence of any other evidence to the contrary the conclusion that can be derived is that the coins belonged to the same age and were issued by the same king. Whether they are earlier to, contemporaneous with, or even later than the Nānāghāṭ inscription of queen Nāganikā can be determined only by comparing the forms of the characters on the coins with those of the inscription. The possibility of the coins being later than the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā was not suggested by any of these scholars writing on these coins. The paleographic characteristics on which Prof. Mirashi and others built up their views consisted mainly of the forms of the characters *da*, *va*, and *ha* on the coins. In this matter Prof. Mirashi writes: "Specially noteworthy are the forms of cursive *d*, with its curve open on the left; *v*, the lower limb of which is not yet flattened; and *h*, which has a short vertical[16]". Again: "*D* faces left; *V* has a round lower limb; the vertical of *H* is shortened but its right limb is still horizontal.[17]" Dr. Dikshit and Shri Joglekar are of the view that "the forms of *da*, *ha*, and *va* closely resemble those in the Nānāghāṭ inscription. The rounded form of *va* very much approaches the Mauryan form[18]".

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 6.

[15] *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 73.

A comparison of the characters *da*, *va* and *ha* on the coins with their forms in the Nānāghāṭ inscription of queen Nāganikā[19] and inscription No. 9[20] in the same place makes it clear that the former were later in time than the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā. The character *da* on the coins is of special importance in determining their age. The verticals at both ends of the deep curve facing left of *da* show a tendency to roundness with the curve becoming slightly shallower in the Nānāghāṭ inscription[21] of Nāganikā. The central curve of *da* on the coins of Sātavāhana has become very shallow and the verticals at both the ends of the curve cease to be verticals at all; they are even rounded to become curves facing opposite to the central curve[22]. The form of the character *da* on the coins, therefore, is certainly later than that in the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā. On the otherhand, it is similar to its form in inscription[23] No. 9 in Nānāghāṭ cave. This fact rules out the possibility of the coins not only *not* belonging to the last quarter of the third century B.C. as suggested by Mirashi, but also that of their being of the same age as the Nānāghaṭ inscription of queen Nāganikā as suggested by him and others. In fact, they belonged to a date later than the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā, because inscription No. 9 in the same cave on grounds of the form of its character *da* and its position in the cave was later than the inscription of Nāganikā.

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[16] *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 2.

[17] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 6.

[18] *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. VI, p. 141.

[19] *ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 73.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.* Pl. LI No. 1.

[22] *JNSI.*, vol. VII; Pl. II. 1; vol. XI, Pl. II. 1; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, vol. VI, p. 141.

[23] *ASWI.*, vol. V, Pl. LI.

The argument based on the form of *va* on the coins does not in any way contradict my statement. In inscription No. 9, *va* is showing a tendency towards becoming triangular below the vertical, while on the coins and in the inscription of Nāganikā it appears in the form of a circle below the vertical. It is significant to note that it is also triangular in the relievo inscription of Devī-Nāyanikā[24], but remains circular in that of Kumāra Sātavāhana[25]. Therefore, when *da* and *va* of the coins of king Sātavāhana are compared with their forms in the inscription of Nāganikā and those in inscription[26] No. 9 in the Nānāghāṭ cave, the conclusion that may be derived is that the characters of the coins according to the form of *da* is later than the inscription of Nāganikā, but according to that of *va* it is earlier than inscription No. 9. The form of *ha* on the coins also supports this conclusion. As pointed out by Mirashi[27] and Altekar[28], the left vertical of *ha* is not higher than the right; it is almost similar to its form in the relievo figure inscription of Kumāra Sātavāhana.

The arguments advanced above lead to the conclusion that *Raño Sādavāhana* of the coins cannot have preceded Simuka (Śiśuka) of the Purāṇas or even Śātakarṇi I. He must have flourished later than the age of the Nānāghāṭ inscription of queen Nāganikā. He may, therefore, be identified with Kumāra Sātavāhana[29] of the relievo figure inscription in the Nānāghāṭ cave[30] where his name appears along with Simuka, Devī Nāyanikā and Sātakarṇi, Kumāra Bhāya, Kumāra Hakuśri and Mahārathi Traṇakayira[31]. Even though the relationship between him and the queen Nāganikā and Śātakarṇi cannot be precisely determined, it seems, in the words of Dr. Altekar, he was 'a junior contemporary', probably, I think, son of Śātakarṇi. Kumāra Hakuśri and Kumāra Bhāya were probably his brothers. The coins of Sātavāhana further show that he ruled as king and since they are later in age than the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā, he must have ruled after

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[24] *Ibid.*, Pl. LI No. 4.

[25] *Ibid.*, No. 8.

[26] *Ibid.*, No. 9.

[27] *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 104.

[28] *Ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 6.

[29] I am unable to accept Bühler's identification of Kumāra Sātavāhana with Vediśri of the inscription of Nāganikā. (*ASWI.*, vol. V, p. 68). In my opinion the two were different persons. I hope I shall be soon able to examine this point in another article to be published in this journal.

[30] *ASWI.*, vol. V, Pl. LI. No. 8.

[31] *Ibid.*, Pl. LI. Nos. 2-8.

Śātakarṇi of the relievo figure inscription at the same place. Whether any of the Kumāras, Bhāya and Hakuśri, ruled before or after him, it is not possible to say.

In a footnote added to the article of Prof. Mirashi, Dr. Altekar[32] expressed agreement with the views of the former and suggested that Sātavāhana of the coins may be identified with Sātavāhana of the Nānāghāṭ relievo figure inscription, but there is no substance in his view that this Sātavāhana was later on known as Śātakarṇi I. His opinion that the coins were issued by Sātavāhana simply "as a junior contemporary of Śātakarṇi, probably his father", cannot be accepted because of its being highly improbable on the face of the arguments advanced by me above. The argument of Prof. Mirashi[33] that it is doubtful whether Sātavāhana of the Nānāghāṭ inscription ever came to the throne because the Purāṇas mention Purṇotsaṅga as the successor of Śātakarṇi I and not of either Sātavāhana or Śātakarṇi (II) also cannot be accepted when it is known that the Purāṇic genealogies are not always complete and correct. This Purāṇic testimony is of doubtful value without any other evidence in its support. With regard to Simuka Prof. Mirashi[34] himself rejected it.

The conclusions which have been reached above may be summarised as follows: That Raño Sātavāhana of the coins is the same as Kumāra Sātavāhana of the Nānāghaṭ relievo figure inscription and that he ruled after Śātakarṇi I of another relievo inscription at the same place.

SANT LAL KATARE

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[32] *JNSI.*, vol. VII, p. 3. fn. 1.

[33] *JNSI.*, vol. VIII, p. 19, fn. 3.

[34] *Ibid.*, vol. VII, p. 2.

Text of the Purāṇic List of Rivers

Some time ago I edited a part of the geographical section common to some of the Purāṇas in a paper, entitled 'Text of the Purāṇic List of Peoples', published in *IHQ*, vol. XXI, pp. 297-314. A critical edition, on the same plan, of another part of the Purāṇic section in question is offered in the following pages. For introductory remarks and list of abbreviations, vide *op. cit.*, pp. 297-99.

TEXT

[Bmd, ch. 49, vv. 28-42 ; Krm, I, ch. 46 (ch. 47 in some versions), vv. 28-39 ; Mk, ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 17-30 ; Mts, ch. 114, vv. 20-32 ; Vmn, ch. 13, vv. 20-33 ; Vy, ch. 45 (of Bk. I according to some versions ; cf. also Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 357-39), vv. 94-107.]

I

[1]पीयन्ते यैरिमा नद्यो[2] गङ्गा सिन्धुः सरस्वती[3] ।

1. The following line is omitted in Krm. A little independence as regards the order of enumeration of the rivers issuing from the Himavat (Himālaya) is noticed in Mk and, to a greater degree with deliberate omissions and commissions, in Vmn. Mk has—गङ्गा सरस्वती सिन्धुश्चन्द्रभागा तथा परा । यमुना च शतद्रुश्च वितस्तेरावती कुहुः ॥ गोमती धूतपापा (*c*—धृत०) च बाहुदा (*d*—त्र०) सदृशद्वती (d—च०) । विपाशा (*b*—०सा) देविका रङ्क्षुर्निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा ॥ कौशिकी चापगा विप्र हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः ॥ Vmn has —सरस्वती पञ्चरूपा कालिन्दी च हिरण्वती । शतद्रुश्चन्द्रिका नीला वितस्तेरावती कुहुः ॥ मधुरा हाररावी च उशीरा धातुकी (*b*—०त०) रसा । गोमती धूतपापा च बाहुदा सा दृषद्वती ॥ निःस्वरा गण्डकी चित्रा कौशिकी तु वधूसरा । सरयूश्च सलोहित्या (*b*—०लौ०) हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः ॥ Most of the Himalayan rivers are noticed by Alberuni, vide *infra*, note 15. Though he speaks of both Vy and Mts, possibly the names were quoted by him from the latter work with an amount of misunderstanding and confusion.

2. Vy, Bmd—[तैर्विमिश्रा जनपदा आर्यम्लेच्छाश्च (Vy *e*—०र्या०) नित्यशः ।] पीयन्ते यैरिमा नद्यः ; Mts—[तैर्विमिश्रा जनपदा (*bc*—जा०) आर्या म्लेच्छाश्च सर्वतः ।] पिबन्ति बहुला नद्यः.

3. Vy. Bmd, Mts—गङ्गा सिन्धुः सरस्वती; Mk—गङ्गा सरस्वती सिन्धुः. Omitted in Krm. Some Mts versions read the names of the rivers in the second case-ending. It is well known that the Gaṅgā is the Ganges and

शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा च[4] यमुना सरयूस्तथा[5] ॥
इरावती वितस्ता च[6] विपाशा देविका कुहूः[7] ।

the Sindhu the Indus. The Sarasvatī rises in the Sirmur hills of the Sewalik range in the Himālayas and emerges into the plains at Ād-Badrī in the Ambala District, Panjab. It disappears once at Chalaur but reappears at Bhavanipur ; then it disappears at Balchappar but again appears at Bara-khera ; next it is joined by the Mārkaṇḍa at Urnai near Pehoa and the united stream, still called Sarasvatī, ultimately falls into the Ghaggar which is now the name of the united streams of the Satlaj and the Beas but is believed to have borne the name Sarasvatī in ancient times. In the early Vedic period, the Sarasvatī probably flowed into the Arabian sea. Later literature speaks of its disappearance at Vinaśana (near modern Sirsa) in Kurukṣetra or Brahmārvarta (in the Eastern Punjab) which is described as the land between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī. Cf. दक्षिणेन सरस्वत्या उत्तरेण दृषद्वतीम् । ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥ (*Mbh*, III, 83, 204-05) ; सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम् । तं देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥ (*Manu*, II, 17). Vide *infra*, note 9.

4. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts—शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा च ; cf. Vmn—शतद्रुश्चन्द्रिका नीला. The Śatadru is the modern Satlaj whose stream united with that of the Beas is called the Ghaggar. It is the Vedic Śutudri and the Zaradros or Hesydrus of the classical writers. The Chandrabhāgā is the modern Chenab which is the same as Asiknī of the Vedic literature and the Acesines of the classical authors. Ptolemy calls it Sandabala or Sanḍabal. The Nīlā referred to by Vmn reminds us of the name Nilāb applied by the early Muslim writers to a part of the river Indus (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 84).

5. Vy *a*, Mts *a*—यमुना सरयुस्तथा ; Bmd, Vy *cde*, Mts *b*—यमुना सरयूस्तथा ; Krm *a*—सरयु यमुना तथा ; *bc*—सरयूर्यमुना तथा ; Mts *c*, Vy *e* (v.l.)—यमुना शरयूस्तथा. The Yamunā is the modern Jumnā (Yamunā) joining the Ganges near Allahabad. The Sarayū is the modern Ghagra or Gogra on which the ancient city of Ayodhyā (near Fyzabad) is situated. It rises in the Kumaon hills and is called Sarayū, Ghagra or Devā after its junction with the Kālīnadī.

6. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts *a*—इरावती वितस्ता च ; Mts *bc*—ऐरावती वितस्ता च. The Irāvatī or Airāvatī is the moderm Rāvī which was known to the classical writers as Hydraotes. The Vitastā is the modern Jhelam the upper course of which is still known by the old name. It was known to the classical writers as the Hydaspes or Bidaspes.

7. Vy *a*, Bmd—विपाशा देविका कुहुः ; Krm, Mts *a*, Vy *cde*—विपाशा देविका कुहूः ; Krm *b* (v. l.) विपाशा द्रेविका कुहुः ; Mts *bc*—विशाला देविका कुहूः.

गोमती धूतपापा च[8] बाहुदा च दृषद्वती[9] ॥
[10]कौशिकी च तृतीया तु[11] निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा[12] ।

The Vipāśā is the modern Beas, called the Vipāś in earlier literature and the Hyphasis or Bipasis in the works of the classical writers. The Devikā is the modern Deeg, a tributary of the Rāvī. Another identification suggested by some writers is that with the Devā, a name applied to the lower course of the Sarayū. The Kuhū has been identified with the modern Kabul river, called Kubhā in the *Ṛgveda* and Kophen, Kophes or Koa by classical writers.

8. Mk *abd*, Vy *abc*, Bmd, Krm, Vmn—गोमती धूतपापा च ; Vy *de*—गोमती धुतपापा च ; Mts—गोमती धौतपापा च ; Mk *c*—गोमती घृतपापा च. The river Gomatī has to be identified with the Ṛgvedic Gomatī which is the modern Gomal a western tributary of the Indus, or with the modern Goomti which joins the Ganges below Benares. There is another river of this name in the Kangra District, Panjab. The Dhūtapāpā was a tributary of the Ganges in the Benares region. The name has been associated with Ahopāp on the Goomti, 18 miles south-west of Sultanpur in Oudh.

9. Mk *abc*—बाहुदा सदृशद्वती, *d*—बहुदा च दृशद्वतां ; Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts—बाहुदा च दृषद्वती; Krm *b* (v. l.) Vy *e* (v. l.)—बहुदा च दृषद्वती; Vmn—बाहुदा सा दृषद्वती. The Bāhudā has been identified by some with the Dhavalā (modern Dhumela or Burha-Rāptī), a tributary of the Rāptī, and by others with the Ramganga that joins the Ganges near Kanauj. The river Dṛṣadvatī is usually identified with the Citang, Citrang or Cautang which runs parallel to the Sarasvatī ; but some writers prefer its identification with the Rakshi that flows by the south-east of Thanesvar. The view of certain earlier writers identifying the Dṛṣadvatī with the Ghaggar seems to be unjustifiable.

10. The following two lines are contracted into one in Krm—कौशिकी लोहिनी (*b* [v. l.], *c* [v. l]—लोहिता) चेति हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः. Vmn and Mk arrange the names rather independently.

11. Vy, Bmd—कौशिकी च तृतीया तु ; Mts—कौशिकी तु तृतीया च. Pargiter suggests the emendation—कौशिकी करतोया तु or कौशिकी च त्रिस्रोतास्तु. The Kauśikī is no doubt the modern Kosi which runs through Nepal and Tirhut and joins the Ganges below Patna ; but originally the river seems to have passed through North Bengal to join the Brahmaputra. There is another Kosi (Kauśikī) which flows by Almora and Ramnagar in the north-western U. P. *Tṛtīyā* may be a mistake for Karatoyā the celebrated river of North Bengal. *Niścīrā* seems also to be a mistake for *Trisrotas*, the Sanskrit name of the Teestā in North Bengal. Agn (ch. 116, 7) seems to locate the rivers Tṛtīyā and Niścīrā in the Gayā

इक्षुर्लौहित्य इत्येता[13] हिमवत्पादनिःसृता[14] ॥[15]

region ; but the evidence is doubtful, and, moreover, in that case, they can not be associated with the Himalayas. Cf. *infra*, note 12.

12. Mk, Vy, Bmd—निश्चीरा गण्डकी तथा ; Mts—निश्चला गण्डकी तथा; Vmn—निःस्वरा गण्डकी चित्रा. For *Niścīrā*, see remarks *supra*, note 11. The Gaṇḍakī (modern Gaṇḍak) is the famous tributary of the Ganges and joins the river near Sonepur (Hariharakṣetra) in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.

13. Vy, Bmd—इक्षुर्लोहित इत्येताः ; Mts *a*—इक्षुर्लोहितमित्येताः, *bc*—इक्षुर्लौहित्यमित्येता; : *c* (v. l.)—चङ्कुं लोहितामित्येताः. The name Ikṣu may indicate the Ikṣumatī (modern Kālīnadī, a tributary of the Ganges) ; but the form *Caṅku* as well as *Raṅkṣu* (or *Vaṅkṣu*) in Mk probably suggests that it is no other than the Vakṣu or Oxus (Amu Darya) ; cf. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 67, in Vallabha's commentary. The Lohitya or Lauhitya is the same as the Brahmaputra.

14. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krm, Vmn—हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः ; Mts—हिमवत्पार्श्वनिःसृताः, *c* (v. l.)—दिवमाप्नोति यः स्मरन्.

15. The following rivers are mentioned by Alberuni (Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, ch. 25) as issuing from the Himavat: 1. Sindh (Sindhu or Indus) or the river of Vaihand (ancient Udabhāṇḍa or Udahāṇḍa, modern Und near Attock), 2. Biyatta (Vitastā) or Jailam (Jhelam), 3. Candrabhāgā or Candrāha, 4. Biyāha (Vipāśā) to the west (sic. east) of Lahore, 5. Irāvatī to the east (sic. west) of Lahore, 6. Śatarudra or Śataldar (Śatadru or Satlaj), 7. Sarsat (Sarasvatī) flowing to the country of Sarsat (Sārasvata), 8. Jaun (Yamunā), 9. Gaṅgā, 10. Sarayū or Sarwa, 11. Devikā, 12. Kuhū, 13. Gomatī, 14. Dhūtapāpā, 15. Viśālā (cf. Mts *c*, *supra*, note 7), 16. Bāhudāsa (sic. Bāhudā, with *sa* prefixed to the next name in the text consulted ; cf. *supra*, note 9), 17. Kauśikī, 18. Niścīrā, 19. Gaṇḍakī, 20. Lohitā, 21. Dṛṣadvatī. Other names of this list appear to have been wrongly taken mostly from that of the rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra (vide section II). They are: 22. Tāmrā Aruṇā (Tāmravarṇā ?), 23. Parṇāśā, 24. Vedasmṛti, 25. Vedāsinī or Vidāsinī (cf. *infra*, note 16), 26. Candanā, 27. Kāwanā (same as Kawini, tributary of the Sarwa ?), 28. Parā, 29. Carmaṇvatī, 30. Vidiśā, 31. Veṇumatī, 32. Śiprā that rises in the Pāriyātra and passes by Ujain (Ujjayinī), 33. Karatoyā, 34. Shmāhina (cf. *infra*, notes 19, 33). Alberuni further says (*loc. cit.*, p. 259 ff.), "In the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish (Kāpiśa), i.e. Kābul, rises a river which is called the *Ghorvand* on account of its many branches. It is joined by several affluents : 1. The river of the pass of Ghūzak ; 2. the river of the gorge of Panchīr (Panjshir falling into the Ghorvand), below the town of Parvān (about 8 miles to the north

of Chārikar) ; 3-4. The river Sharvat and the river Sāva, which latter flows through the town of Lambagā (Lampāka), i.e. Lamghan ; they join the Ghorvand at the fortress of Drūta ; 5-6. the rivers Nūr and Kīrāt.—Swelled by these affluents, the Ghorvand (Kābul) is a great river opposite the town of Purshāvar (modern Peshāwar) being there called *the ford*, from a ford near the village of Mahanāra on the eastern banks of the river, and it falls into the river Sindh (Indus) near the castle of Bītūr, below the capital of al-Kandahār (Gandhāra), i.e. Vaihand (Und near Attock).—The river Biyatta (Vitastā), known as Jailam (Jhelam), from the city of this name on its western banks, and the river Candarāha (Candrabhāgā) join each other nearly fifty miles above Jahrāvār (which together with Mūltān comprised the ancient Sauvīra country ; cf. *loc. cit.*, pp. 300, 302), and pass along west of Mūltān (which was originally known as Kāśyapapura, next as Haṃsapura, then as Vegapura, afterwards as Sāmbapura and ultimately as Mūlāsthāna ; cf. the views of Utpala ; *loc. cit.*, p. 298).—The river Biyāh (Vipāśā) flows east of Mūltān, and joins afterwards the Biyatta (Vitastā) and Candarāha (Candrabhāgā).—The river Irāva (Irāvatī) is joined by the river Kaj which rises in Nagarkot in the mountains of Bhātul. Thereupon follows as the fifth the river Śatladar (Śatadru).—After these five rivers have united below Mūltān at a place called *Pañcanada*, i.e. the meeting place of the five rivers, they form an enormous watercourse...The Muslims call the river, after it has passed the Sindhī city Aror, as a united stream, the *river of Mihran*. Thus it extends......enclosing in its course places like islands until it reaches al-Mansūra, situated between several of its arms, and flows into the ocean at two places, near the city of Loharānī, and more eastward in the province of Kacch at a place called *Sindhusāgara*, i.e. *the Sindh Sea*.—As the name *union of five rivers* (Pañcanada) occurs in this part of the world (the Panjāb), we observe that a similar name is used also to the north of the above mentioned mountain chains (i.e. the mountain bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish), for the rivers which flow thence towards the north after having united near Tirmidh and having formed the river of Balkh, are called the union of *seven rivers* (cf. *hapta-hindu* of the ancient Iranians). The Zoroastrians of Sogdiana (Bukhara region) have confounded these two things ; for they say that the whole of the seven rivers is *Sindh*, and its upper course *Barīdīsh*... The river Sarsati (Prabhāsa-Sarasvatī, mod. Raunakshi) falls into the sea at the distance of a bow-shot east of Somnāth.—The river Jaun Yamunā) joins the Ganges below Kanoj, which lies west of it. The united stream falls into the great ocean near Gaṅgāsāgara.—Between the mouths of the rivers Sarsati and Ganges is the mouth of the river Narmadā which descends from the eastern mountains, takes its course in a south-western direction and falls into the sea near the town of Bahroj (Broach) nearly sixty *yojana* east of Somnāth.—Behind the Ganges flow the rivers Rahab (modern Ramgaṅgā) and Kavīnī which

II

वेदस्मृतिर्वेदवती[16] वृत्रघ्नो सिन्धुरेव च[17] ।
पर्णाशा चन्दना चैव[18] सदानीरा मही तथा[19] ॥
[20]पारा चर्मण्वती लूपी(?)[21] विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि[22] ।

join the river Sarva near the city of Bārī (to the east of the Ganges at a distance of three to four days' marches from Kanoj ; cf. p. 199)".

16. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krm—वेदस्मृतिर्वेदवती ; Krm *b* (v. l.) *c* (v. l.)—वेदस्मृतिर्वेदरता ; Mts—वेदस्मृतिर्वेत्रवती. The Vedasmṛti has been identified with the modern Besulā in Malwa. For the Vetravatī, vide *infra*, note 21.

17. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—वृत्रघ्नी सिन्धुरेव च ; Krm—व्रतघ्नी त्रिदिवा तथा ; Vy *b* recognises Vṛtraghnī (cf. Vārtaghnī in Km. ; modern Vātrak, a tributary of the Sabarmatī in Gujarāt) only. The Sindhu is no doubt the modern Kālīsindh, a tributary of the Jumna between the Chambal and Betwa.

18. Mk *abc*—वेण्वा सानन्दनी चैव, *d*—वेण्वा सानन्दना चैव ; Vy *a*, Krm *ab* (v. l.) *c* (v. l.)—पर्णांशा चन्दना चैव ; Bmd, Vy *cde*, Krm *bc*—वर्णासा चन्दना चैव ; Mts—पर्णाशा नर्मदा चैव ; Vmn *a*—पर्णाशा नन्दिनी चैव, *b*—पर्णासा नन्दिनी चैव ; Vy *b*—पर्णाशा नन्दना चैव ; Krm *b* (v. l.) *c* (v. l.)—पर्णासा बन्धना चैव, *b* (v. l.)—पर्णांशा बन्धना चैव. The Parṇāśā is no other than the modern Banās, a tributary of the Chambal, in Rajputana. *Candanā* is believed to have been another name of the Sabarmati.

19. Mk, Bmd, Vy *d* (v. l.)—सदानीरा मही तथा ; Vy *acde*—सतीरा महती तथा, *b*—सद्दानारा मदी तथा (sic.), *c* (v. l.)—सदातीरा मही तथा ; Krm *ab* (v. l.)—सदानीरा मनोरमा, *bc*—सचर्मण्यवतो सुरा ; Mts—कावेरी महती तथा ; Vmn—पावनी च मही तथा. The Mahī is no doubt the river of that name rising in Malwa and draining itself in the Gulf of Cambay.

20. The following two lines have been contracted into one in Krm *bc*—विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः, *b* (v. l.)—चर्मण्वती तथा सूर्या विदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि.

21. Mk *ac*—पारा चर्मण्वती तापी, *bd*—पारा चर्मण्वती नूपी ; Bmd, Vy *acde*—पारा. चर्मण्वती चैव ; Vy *b*—परा चर्मण्वती लूपा (?), *e* (v. l.)—पारा चर्मण्वती चैव ; Krm—चर्मण्वती तथा दूर्या, *b* (v. l.)—चर्मण्वती तथा सूर्या ; Mts—पारा च धन्वती रूपा, *c* (v. l.)—पारा चर्मण्वती रूपा. The Pārā may be the same as the Pārvatī which rises in Bhopal and is a tributary of the Chambal, while Charmaṇvatī is no other than the Chambal itself. The Chambal is a well known tributary of the Jumna.

22. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Krm—त्रिदिशा वेत्रवत्यपि ; Mts—विदुषा

[23]शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती कुन्ती च[24] पारियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः[25] ॥

III

[26]शोणो महानदो चैव[27] नर्मदा सुरसा क्रिया[28] ।
मन्दाकिनी दशार्णा च [29] चित्रकूटा तथैव च[30] ॥

वेणुमत्यपि ; Vmn—विदिशा वेणुमत्यपि ; Vy *b* recongnises Vidiśā only. The river Vidiśā is the modern Bes or Besali which falls into the Betwa near Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā-nagarī). The Vetravatī is the modern Betwa which is a tributary of the Jumna.

23. This line is omitted in Krm *a* and Vy *b*.

24. Mk *abc*—शिप्रा ह्यवर्णां च तथा ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती च तथा ; Vy *e* (v. l.), Mk *d*—क्षिप्रा ह्यवन्ती च तथा ; Mts—शिप्रा ह्यवन्ती कुन्ती च ; Vmn—चित्रा ह्योघवती रम्या. The Siprā is mentioned in literature as the river on which the celebrated city of Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain in the old Gwalior state) was situated. The river Avantī rises near Mhow and flows into the Chambal. The Kuntī, otherwise called Aśvanadī or Aśvarathanadī, is a small tributary of the Chambal (see Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s. v. *Kuntī-Bhoja*).

25. Mk *abc*, Bmd—पारिपात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः ; Vy, Mk *d*—परियात्राश्रयाः स्मृताः ; Mts—पारियात्राश्रिताः स्मृताः ; Vmn—पारियात्रोद्भवाः स्मृताः. Pāriyātra or Pāripātra was the name applied to the Western Vindhyas together with the Aravelly range.

26. This line is omitted in Mts *ab*. For the first three lines, Krm reads rather freely—नर्मदा सुरसा शोणो दशार्णा च सहानदी । मन्दाकिनी चित्रकूटा तामसी च पिशाचिका ॥

27. Vy, Bmd, Mts *c*—शोणो महानदश्चैव ; Vmn—शोणो महानदी चैव. The Śoṇa is the celebrated Sone which rises in the Amarkaṇṭak range and drains itself into the Ganges not far from Patna. The ancient city of Pāṭaliputra stood on the junction of the Śoṇa and the Gaṅgā. The Mahānadī also rises from the same range and flows through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

28. Mk—नर्मदा सुरथाद्रिजा ; Vy *acde*—नर्मदा सुमहा द्रुमा, *b*—नर्मदा सुरसा क्रिर्या (sic. क्रिया), *c* (v. l.), *e* (v. l.)—नर्मदा सुरहा द्रुमा ; Bmd—नर्मदा सुवहा द्रुमा ; Vmn—नर्मदा सुरसा क्रिया ; Mts *c*—नन्दना सुकृशा क्षमा ; cf. सुरसा शिवा in Grd, I, 55, 8. The Narmadā is the famous Narbadā (Nerbudda) which rises in the Amarkaṇṭak range and falls into the Arabian Sea.

29. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—मन्दाकिनी दशार्णा च. The Mandākinī (now called Mandākin) flows into the Paisuni near the

[31]तमसा पिप्पलश्रोणी[32] करमोदा पिशाचिका[33] ।
चित्रोत्पला विपाशा च[34] मञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी[35] ॥
[36]शुनी लज्जा शुक्तिमती[37] शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः[38] ।

Citrakūṭa hill, while the Daśārṇā is the modern Dhasan flowing past Saugor between the Betwa and the Ken.

30. Mk—चित्रकूटा तथापरा ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—चित्रकूटा तथैव च ; Vmn—चित्रकूटा हि देविका. The Citrakūṭā was either the same as the Mandākin or a part of it.

31. This line is omitted in Krm. A little freedom is noticed in some texts as regards the order of the names in the following two lines. Mk has—चित्रोत्पला सतमसा करमोदा पिशाचिका । तथान्या पिप्पलिश्रोणिर्विपाशा (*d*—पिप्पल०) वञ्जुला नदी ॥ Mts has—तमसा पिप्पली श्येनी तथा चित्रोत्पलापि च । विमला चञ्चला चैव तथा च धूतवाहिनी ॥ Vmn has—चित्रोत्पला वै तमसा करमोदा (*b*—०तोया) पिशाचिका । तथान्या पिप्पलश्रेणी विपाशा वञ्जुलावती ॥

32. Vy *ade*, Bmd—तमसा पिप्पला श्रोणी ; Mts—तमसा पिप्पली श्येणी ; Vy *bc*—तमसा पिप्यला श्रोणी. The Tamasā is the modern Tons flowing into the Ganges below Allababad. The Pippalaśroṇī may be the modern Paisuni or Parsaroni which is a tributary of the Jumna running between the Ken and the Tons.

33. Mk—करमोदा पिशाचिका ; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—करतोया पिशाचिका ; Vy *b*—कंरमोदा पिशाविका (sic. पिशाचिका). Pargiter suggests the identification of the Karamodā with the modern Karamnāśā flowing into the Ganges above the Sone.

34. Vy *acde*, Bmd—नोलोत्पला विपाशा च ; Krm, चित्रोत्पला विशाला च, *b* (v. l.), *c* (v. l.)—चित्रोतपला विपाशा च ; Vy *b*—चित्रपला (sic. चित्रोत्पला) महावेगा, *e* (v. l.)—चितोत्पला विपाशा च. The Citrotpalā is a branch of the Mahānadī in Orissa or the Mahānadī itself below its junction with the Pyri.

35. Vy *acde*—जम्बुला बालुवाहिनी, *bc* (v. l.)—वञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी ; Bmd—जम्बूला बालुवाहिनी ; Krm—मञ्जुला बालुवाहिनी, *b* (v. l.) *c* (v. l.)—मञ्जुला रत्नवाहिनी.

36. The following line is omitted in Krm.

37. Mk—सुमेरुजा शुक्तिमती ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—सितेरजा शुक्तिमती ; Vy *b* has Śuktimatī only, *c* (v. l.)—सितेरजा मुक्तिमती ; Mts *a*—शुक्तिमती शुनी लज्जा, *bc*—शुक्तिमन्ती शुनी लज्जा ; Vmn—सत्सन्तजा शुक्तिमती. The Śuktimatī is the modern Ken a tributary of the Jumna flowing through Bundel-

ऋक्षपादात् प्रसूतास्ता[39] नद्यो मणिनिभोदकाः[40] ।[41]

khand. On its bank stood a city of the same name (Pali *Sotthivati*) which was the ancient capital of the Cedi people.

38. Mk *ab*—शकुली त्रिदिवा क्रमुः, *c*—शकुलो त्रिदिवा क्रमः, *d*—शकुलो त्रिदिवा क्रमुः ; Vy *acde*—मकुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्, *c* (v. l.)—मक्षणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्, *e* (v. l.)—मकणा त्रिदिवा क्रमा ; Bmd—मत्तुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात् ; Mts *ab*—मुकुटा हृदिकापि च, *c*—मुकुटा हादिकापि च ; Vmn—चक्रिणी त्रिदिवा वसुः ; Vy *b*—शकुणा त्रिदिवा क्रमात्. The Śakulī (Śakrulī?) may be the Sakri which flows into the Śeonath, a tributary of the Mahānadī.

39. Mk *ac* (v. l.) *d*—ऋक्षपादप्रसूता वै ; *bc*—स्कन्धपादप्रसूता वै ; Vy, Bmd—ऋक्षपादात् प्रसुतास्ता, Krm—ऋक्षवत्पादजा नद्यः ; Mts *ac*—ऋक्षवन्तप्रसूतास्ताः, *b*—ऋष्यवन्तप्रसूतास्ताः ; Vmn—ऋक्षपादप्रसूता च. For the Ṛkṣavat, see below note 41.

40. Mk—तथान्या वेगवाहिनी ; Vy, Bmd—नद्यो मणिनिभोदकाः ; Krm—सर्वपापहरा नृणाम् ; Mts—नद्योमलजलाः शुभाः ; Vmn *a*—तथान्या बलवाहिनी, *b*—तथान्या वल्गुवाहिनी.

41. It is to be noted that the short list in section IX below wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing not from the Ṛkṣavat but from the Vindhya. The name Ṛkṣavat was applied to a particular section of the range that was in a general sense called the Vindhya. While the name Vindhya was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills running from Gujarat to the Gayā region and lying on both sides of the Narmadā, that of Ṛkṣavat, when especially mentioned in literature, is always associated with the central part of the Narmadā valley, of which Māhiṣmatī (either Māndhātā in the Nimār District of the Madhya Pradesh, or Maheśvar in the old Indore State) was the most important city and Daśārṇā (see note 29 above) a notable river. The Vindhya, when distinguished from the Ṛkṣavat, denotes the chain lying to the south of the Narmadā as suggested by Nīlakaṇṭha who explains the passage *Vindhy-arkṣavantāv=abhitaḥ* (i.e., 'lying between the Vindhya and the Ṛkṣavat') in the *Hv*, II, 38, 7 as *Vindhyasy=ottarata Ṛkṣavato dakṣiṇata ity=arthaḥ* (i.e., 'lying to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Ṛkṣavat'). Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 128. The Puranic text quoted above (cf. note 39) would also suggest that the Ṛkṣavat was that part of the Vindhyan range which lies to the north of the Narmadā and runs from the Malwa region right up to the sources of that river as well as of the Mahānadī.

42. In some texts slight independence is noticed in the order of the names contained in this line. Mk has—शिप्रा (*d*—क्षिप्रा) पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या तापी सनिषधावती (*d*—च निषधावती) ; Vmn has—शिवा पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या तापी सनिषधावती.

IV

[42]तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या[43] शिप्रा च निषधावती[44] ।
वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव[45] शिनिबाहुः कुमुद्वती[46] ॥
तोया चैव महागौरी[47] दुर्गा चान्तःशिला तथा[48] ।

43. Vy *abde* (v. l.), Bmd, Krm, Mts—तापी पयोष्णी निर्विन्ध्या ; Vy *ce*—तापी पयोष्णी निर्वन्ध्या. The Tāpī, otherwise called Tāptī, is the celebrated river that flows into the Arabian Sea. The Payoṣṇī has been identified by some scholars with the Pain or Paingaṅgā which is a tributary of the Godāvarī. The Nirvindhyā is the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal flowing between the Betwa and the Kālīsindh.

44. Vy *acde*, Bmd—मद्रा च निषधा नदी ; Vy *b*—सिर्वा (sic. सिप्रा) च निषधा नदी ; Krm—शीघ्रोदा च महानदी ; Mts *a*—क्षिप्ता च ऋषभा नदी, *bc*—क्षिप्रा च ऋषभा नदी. Mk has *Śiprā* (*d—Kṣiprā*) and Vmn *Śivā* for *Madrā* (Bmd and Vy with the exception of *b*), *Śīghrodā* (Krm) and *Kṣiptā* or *Kṣiprā* (Mts).

45. Mk *ac*, Vy *abce* (v. l.), Bmd, Krm *a*—वेण्वा वैतरणी चैव ; Vy *de*—वेन्वा वैतरणी चैव ; Krm *bc*—विन्ना वैतरणी चैव, *b* (v. l.) *c* (v. l.)—वेण्या वैतरणी चैव, चिन्ता वैतरणी चैव ; Mts, Vmn *b*—वेणा वैतरणी चैव ; Vmn *a*—वणा (sic. वेणा) वैतरणी चैव ; Mk *bd*—वेण्या वैतरणी चैव. The Veṇvā may be the Waingaṅgā, a tributary of the Godāvarī. Pargiter thinks that Veṇvā is the Waingangā together with the Prānhitā. The Vaitaraṇī seems to be the celebrated river of that name flowing through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

46. Mk *abc*—सिनीवाली कुमुद्वती, *d*—सिनीवाली कुमुद्वती ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शितिबाहु कुमुद्वती ; Krm—वलाका च कुमुद्वती ; Mts —विश्वमाला कुमुद्वती ; Vmn—सिनीबाहुः कुमुद्वती ; Vy *b*—सिनिहाहुः कुमुद्वती, *e* (v. l.)—शिनिबाहुः कुमुद्वती.

47. Mk—करतोया महागौरी ; Vy *a*—तोण्वा चैरमहागौरी ; Vy *cde*, Bmd, Krm *a*, Mts—तोया चैव महागौरी ; Vy *b*—तोबा (sic. तोया) चैव महागौरी ; Krm *bc*—तथा चैव महागौरी ; Vmn—तोया रेवा महागौरी ; cf. ब्रह्माणीं च महागौरीं दुर्गामपि च भारत in *Mbh*, VI, 9, 33. The Brahmāṇī seems to be the same as the Brāhmaṇī river flowing through Orissa.

48. Mk *abc*—दुर्गा नान्तःशिरा तथा, *d*—दुर्गा चान्तःशिवा तथा ; Vy, Bmd, Krm—दुर्गा चान्तःशिला तथा ; Mts—दुर्गमा तु शिला तथा ; Vmn—दुर्गन्धा वा शिला तथा ; cf. दुर्गां चित्रशिलां चैव in *Mbh*, VI, 9, 30. It is to be noted that *Mbh* mentions Durgā once in relation to Mahāgaurī

विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्ता[49] नद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः[50] ॥[51]

V

गोदावरी भीमरथी [52] कृष्णा बेण्वा च वञ्जुला[53] ।
तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा[54] वाह्या कावेरी चैव तु[55] ॥

(*supra*, note 47) and again in connection with Citraśilā (sic. *c*=*Āntaḥśilā*) apparently due to confusion.

49. Mk, Krm *a*, Mts—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्ताः ; Vy, Bmd, Vmn—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूताश्च ; Krm *bc*—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्तु. For the Vindhya, see note 47 above.

50. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Vmn—नद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः ; Krm—सद्यः पापहरा नृणाम्, *b* (v. l.) *c* (v. l.) सद्यः पुण्यजलाः शुभाः ; Mts—सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः, *c* (v. l.)—नद्यः शीतजलाः शुभाः.

51. Note that the short list in Section IX below wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing from the Ṛkṣavat and not from the Vindhya. Vide note 41 above.

52. Mk *abc*—गोदावरी भीमरथा ; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn, Mk *d*, Krm *c*—गोदावरी भीमरथी ; Krm *ab*—गोदावरी भीमरत्ती. The Godāvarī, still known by its ancient name, rises in the Western Ghats and flows through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Bhīmarathī or Bhīmarathā is the modern Bhīmā which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā.

53. Mk *ac*—कृष्णवेण्वा तथा परा, *bd*—कृष्णा वेण्या तथा परा ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—कृष्णा वैण्यथ वञ्जुला ; .Krm *a*—कृष्णा वेणा च वैश्यता, *bc*—कृष्णा वेणा च वश्यता, *b* (v. l.)—कृष्णा वर्णा चं पासरी ; Mts—कृष्णवेणी च वञ्जुला ; Vmn *a*—कृष्णवेण्या सरिद्वती, *b*—कृष्णा वेण्या सरिद्वती ; Vy *b*—कृष्णा वैण्या सवञ्जुला. The Krsnā is still known by its ancient name and flows from the Western Ghats through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Veṇvā is the modern Veṇā which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā, the combined stream of the two rivers being often mentioned as Kṛṣṇavenā or Kṛṣṇaveṇī. The Vañjulā is no other than the modern Mañjīrā which is a southern tributary of the Godāvarī.

54. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—तुङ्गभद्रा सुप्रयोगा ; Vmn—विशमद्री सुत्रयोगा. The Tuṅgabhadrā is a well known tributary of the Kṛṣṇā.

55. Mk—बाह्या काधेर्यथापगा ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—काबेरी च तथापगा ; Krm—काबेरी च द्विजोत्तमाः ; Mts—बाह्या काबेरी चैव तु ; Vmn—बाह्या काबेरिरेव च ; Vy *b*—पाजय (sic. वाह्या) काबेरी चैव तु. The Kāverī is the celebrated holy river of the southernmost part of India. It is mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy as Khaberos as rising from the Adeisathron mountain range.

दक्षिणापथनद्यस्तु[56] सह्यपादाद्रिनिःसृताः[57] ।।

VI

कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी[58] पुष्पजा चोत्पलावती[59] ।
[60]मलयाभिजाता नद्यः[61] सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः[62] ।।

56. Mk *abc*—विन्ध्य(sic. सह्य॰)पादविनिष्क्रान्ता, *db* (v. l.)—सह्यपादविनिष्क्रान्ता ; Vy, Bmd, Mts *a*, Krm—दक्षिणापथनद्यस्तु ; Mts *bc*—दक्षिणापथनद्यस्ताः ; Vmn—एताश्चापि महानद्यः, *b*—दुग्धोदा नलिनी चैव वारिसेना कलस्वना । एतश्चापि महानद्यः. Sahya is the name applied to that part of the Western Ghats which lies to the north of the Travancore hills. For the spurious addition of a line in Vmn *b*, cf. similar additions in a different work discussed by me elsewhere (*JRASB.*, Letters, vol. XIV, p. 44, note 3, p. 45, note 5, etc.).

57. Mk—इत्येताः सरिदुत्तमाः ; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Krm *bc*—सह्यपादाद्रिनिःसृताः ; Krm *a*—सह्यपादविनिःसृताः ; Vmn—सह्यपादविनिर्गताः.

58. Mk, Vy *a*; Krm *a*, Mts, Vmn—कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णा ; Krm *bc*—ऋतुमाला ताम्रपर्णी ; Bmd, Vy *bcde* (v. l.)—कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णा ; Vy *e*—कृतमाला ताम्रवर्णी. The Kṛtamālā is no other than the modern Vaigai running past Madura (cf. *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, ch. IX). The Tāmraparṇī is now known as Tāmbravari which combines its stream with the Chittar in the Tinnevelly District of Madras.

59. Mk—पुष्पजासूत्पलावती ; Vy, Bmd, Krm *a*—पुष्पजात्युत्पलावती ; Mts—पुष्पजा ह्युत्पलावती ; Vmn—वञ्जुला चोत्पलावती ; Krm. *b*—पुष्पवत्युत्पलावती, *c*—पुण्यवत्युत्पलावती.

60. The following line is omitted in Vmn together with the two lines in Section VII following. Thus the Vmn text would make the rivers mentioned in Section VI flow from the Śuktimat mountain (cf. Section VIII below) apparently through mistake.

61. Mk—मलयाद्रिसमुद्भूताः, Vy—मलयाभिजातास्ता नद्यः ; Bmd—मलयाभिजाता नद्यः ; Krm—मलयान्निःसृता नद्यः ; Mts *a*—मलयप्रसूता नद्यः ; *bc*—मलयप्रसुता नद्यस्ताः. Malaya (derived from the Dravidian word *malai* meaning 'hill') was the name applied to the Travancore hills and the southernmost part of the Western Ghats.

62. Mk—नद्यः शीतजलास्त्विमाः ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः ; Krm—सर्वाः शीतजलाः स्मृताः.

63. The following two lines, as already indicated above (note 60), are omitted in Vmn and are represented in Krm by one line reading ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा च गन्धमादनगामिनी without any reference to the range from which the rivers spring. Thus the Krm text would wrongly

VII

[63]त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्या च[64] इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या[65] ।
[66]लाङ्गुलिनी वंशधरा[67] महेन्द्रतनयाः स्मृताः[68] ॥

VIII

[69]ऋषिकुल्या कुमारी च[70] मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी[71] ।

represent the rivers mentioned in Section VII as issuing from the Śuktimat (see Section VIII).

64. Mk—पितृसोमर्षिकुल्या च ; Vy *acd*—त्रिसामा ऋतुकुल्या च, *b*—त्रिसागा ऋषिकुल्या च, *c*—त्रिसामा ऋतुकूल्या च ; Bmd—त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्या च ; Krm—ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा च ; Mts—त्रिभागा ऋषिकुल्या च. The Ṛṣikulyā, still bearing its ancient name, flows into the Bay of Bengal near Berhampur on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Ganjam District of Orissa.

65. Mk—इक्षुका त्रिदिवा च या ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—इक्षुला त्रिदिवा च या ; Mts—इक्षुदा त्रिदिवाचज्ञा ; Vy *b*—इक्षुला त्रिदिवायना. Cf. त्रिदिवामिक्षुलां क्रिमिम् in *Mbh*, VI, 9, 17.

66. Mts reads for this line rather freely—ताम्रपर्णी तथा मूली शवरा (*c*—शरवा) विमला तथा । महेन्द्रतनयाः सर्वाः प्रख्याताः शुभगामिनीः ॥ It may be noted that *śubha-gāminīḥ* does not suit the context ; cf. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 78ff.

67. Mk *ac*—लाङ्गलिनी वंशकरा, *bd*—लाङ्गूलिनी वंशकरा ; Vy *abd*, Bmd—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशधरा ; Vy *ce*—लाङ्गूलिनी वंशधरा. The Lāṅgulinī is the modern Lāṅguliyā running past Chicacole (Śrīkākulam) in the District of that name in Madras. The Vaṁśadharā, which is still known by the old name, runs past Kalingapatam near Chicacole.

68. Mk—महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Vy, Bmd—महेन्द्रतनयाः स्मृताः. Mahendra was the name applied to the Eastern Ghats.

69. Vmn contracts the two following lines into one—शुनी चैव सुदामा च शुक्तिमत्प्रभवास्त्वमाः (*b*—शक्तिमत्°), while Krm reads rather freely—त्रिप्रा (*b* v. l.—हृपा) पलासिनी चैव ऋषीका वंशधारिणी (*b* v. l., *c* v. l.—बलकारिणी, रसकारिणी) । शुक्तिमत्पादसञ्जाताः सर्वपापहरा नृणाम् ॥

70. Mk—ऋषिकुल्या कुमारी च ; Vy *acde*—ऋषीका सुकुमारी च, *b*—ऋषीका सकुमारी च ; Bmd—ऋषिका सुकुमारी च ; Mts—काशिका सुकुमारी च. Cf. कुमारीमृषिकुल्याञ्च in *Mbh*, VI, 9, 36, and note that in this case at least Mk seems to preserve the orginal reading (cf. note 91 below). Raychaudhuri's identification of Kumārī with the river of the same name in the Mānbhūm District in south Bihar seems to be quite probable

कूपा पलाशिनी चैव[72] शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्स्टताः[73] ॥

IX

[Vsn, II, ch. 3, vv. 9-13 ; Bmh, ch. 19, vv. 10-14 ; cf. Sv, Dharmasaṃhitā, ch. 34. vv. 9-12 ; Agn, ch. 118, vv. 6-8]

[74]शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागाद्या[75] हिमवत्पादनिर्गताः[76] ।
वेदस्मृतिमुखाद्याश्च[77] पारियात्रोद्भवा मुने[78] ॥

in view of the plausibility of his identification of the *kula-parvata* called Śuktimat with the hills of eastern India extending from Chhattisgarh to the Santal Parganas (see note 73 below). The Ṛṣikulyā may be no other than the Koel in Chhota-Nagpur. Another Ṛṣikulyā is no doubt the Kiul, a tributary of the Ganges.

71. Mk. Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी ; Vy *b*—वालुका मन्दवाहिनी ; cf. Krm—गन्धमादनगामिनी and *Mbh*, VI, 9, 33—मन्दगां मन्दवाहिनीम्.

72. Mk *abc*, Vy *e* (v. l.)—कूपा पलाशिनी चैव ; Mk *c* (v. l.)—कृशा पलाशिनी चैव, *d*—कुशा पलाशिनी चैव ; Vy *acde*—कूपा पलाशिनी चैव, *b*—क्रिर्पा (sic. कृपा) पलासिनी चैव ; Bmd—कुपा पलाशिनी चैव ; Krm—त्रिप्रा पलाशिनी चैव ; Mts – कृपा च पाशिनो चैव. Raychaudhuri identifies the Kūpā with the modern Kopā, a tributary of the Bāblā in Eastern India, and the Palāsinī with the modern Parās, a tributary of the Koel in Chhota-Nagpur.

73. Mk *abc*, Vy, Bmd—शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Mk *d*—शुचिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः ; Mts—शुक्तिमन्तात्मजास्तु ताः. The name of the Śuktimat is preserved in that of the Śakti hills in Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, and possibly in that of the Suktel river which joins the Mahānadī near Sonepur (Orissa). "The name Śuktimat was probably applied to the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Raigarh, C. P., to the Dalma hills in Mānbhūm drained by the Kumārī and perhaps even to the hills in the Santal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā" (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

74. This line is omitted in Sv and Agn.

75. Vsn, Bmh—शतद्रु चन्द्रभागाद्याः (see note 4 above).

76. Vsn—हिमवत्पादनिर्गताः ; Bmh—हिमवत्पादनिःसृताः (see note 14 above).

77. Vsn—वेदस्मृतिमुखाद्याश्च ; Bmh—वेदस्मृतिमुखाश्चान्याः ; Sv, Agn—वेदस्मृतिमुखा नद्यः (see note 16 above).

78. Vsn—पारिपात्रोद्भवा मुने ; Bmh, Sv—पारियात्रोद्भवा मुने ; Agn—पारिपात्राद्भवास्तथा (see note 25 above).

[79]नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च[80] नद्यो विन्ध्याद्रिनिर्गताः[81] ।
[82]तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवाः[83] ॥
[84]गोदावरीभीमरथीकृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा[85] ।
सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः स्मृताः पापभयापहाः[86] ॥
[87]कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी प्रमुखा मलयोद्भवाः[88] ।
त्रिसामा ऋषिकुल्याद्या[89] महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः[90] ॥

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[79] For the following line, Sv has—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च सन्त्यन्याश्च सहस्रशः । विन्ध्योद्भवा महानद्यः सर्वपापहराः शुभाः ॥ Agn has—विन्ध्याच्च नर्मदाद्याः स्युः सह्यात् (sic. ऋक्षात्) तापी पयोष्णिका.

[80] Vsn—नर्मदासुरसाद्याश्च ; Bmh—नर्मदासुरमाद्याश्च (see note 28 above).

[81] Vsn—नद्यो विन्ध्याद्रिनिर्गताः ; Bmh—नद्यो विन्ध्यविनिःसृताः. Note that the source of the Narmadā group of rivers is actually the Ṛkṣavat and not the Vindhya ; vide note 41 above.

[82] For the following line, Bmh has—तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याकावेरीप्रमुखा नदीः । ऋक्षपादोद्भवा ह्येताः श्रुताः पापं हरन्ति याः ॥ For the wrong *vibhakti* in *nadīḥ*, see note 66 obove. Note that the Tāpī and Kāverī are wrongly grouped together as rivers issuing from the Ṛkṣavat (see notes 43, 49, 55, 57 above). This line is omitted in Sv.

[83] Vsn—तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवाः. Note that these rivers actually flow from the Vindhya and not from the Ṛkṣavat (see notes 41, 51 above).

[84] For the following two lines, Sv has—गोदावरीभीमरथीतापीप्रमुखतोयगाः । विन्ध्याद्विनिर्गताः पुण्याः स्नानात् पापभयापहाः ॥ सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः कृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा ॥

[85] Vsn, Bmh—गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेण्यादिकास्तथा ; Agn—गोदावरी भीमरथी कृष्णवेण्वादिकास्तथा.

[86] Vsn, Bmh—सह्यपादोद्भवा नद्यः स्मृताः पापभयापहाः.

[87] Agn has rather freely—मलयात् कृतमालाद्यास्त्रिसामाद्या महेन्द्रजाः । कुमाराद्याः शुक्तिमतो हिमाद्रेश्चन्द्रभागका ॥

[88] Vsn, Bmh—कृतमालाताम्रपर्णीप्रमुखा मलयोद्भवाः.

[89] Vsn—त्रिसामा चार्ष्यकुल्याद्याः ; Bmh—त्रिसान्ध्य ऋषिकुल्याद्याः ; Sv—त्रियामा ऋषिकुल्याद्याः (see note 64 above).

[90] Vsn, Bmh, Sv—महेन्द्रप्रभवाः स्मृताः (see note 68 above).

ऋषिकुल्याकुमार्याद्याः[91] शुक्तिमत्पादसम्भवाः[92] ॥[93]

X

[Bmd, 51, vv. 40-60 ; Mts, ch. 121, vv. 39-51 ; Vy, ch. 47, vv. 38-48 ; cf. Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 24-62.]

A

नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः[94] प्रत्यपद्यत सप्तधा[95] ।
नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव[96] पावनी चैव प्राग्गता[97] ॥

91. Vsn, Sv—ऋषिकुल्याकुमार्याद्याः ; Bmh—ऋषिकुल्याकुमाराद्याः (see note 70 above).

92. Vsn, Sv, Bmd—शुक्तिमत्पादसम्भवाः (see note 73 above).

93. Grd (I, ch. 56, 8-10) reads rather freely—वेदस्मृतिर्नर्मदा च वरदा सुरसा शिवा । तापी पयोष्णी सरयूः कावेरी गामती तथा ।। गोदावरो भीमरथी कृष्णवेणी महानदी । केतुमाला ताम्रपर्णी चन्द्रभागा सरस्वती ॥ ऋषिकुल्या च कावेरी मत्त्यगङ्गा पयस्विनी । विदर्भा च शतद्रुश्च नद्यः पापहराः शुभाः ॥ Bgvt (V, ch. 19, section 17) has in prose—चन्द्रवशा ताम्रपर्णा अवटोदा कृतताला वैहायसी कावेरी वेणवा पयस्विनी शर्करावर्त्ता तुङ्गभद्रा कृष्णवेणवा भीमरथी गोदावरी निर्विन्ध्या पयोष्णी तापी रेवा सुरसा नर्मदा चर्मणवती अन्धः शोणश्च नदौ महानदी वेदस्मृति ऋषिकुल्या त्रिसामा कौशिकी मन्दाकिनी यमुना सरस्वती दृशद्वती गोमती सरयुरोधवती षष्टवती सप्तवती सुषोमा शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा मरुद्वृधा वितस्ता असिक्नी विश्वेति महानद्यः ॥ Cf. Km (pp. 93-94) :(a) पूर्वदेश—शोणलौहित्यौ नदौ गङ्गाकरतोयाकपिशाद्याश्च नद्यः । (b) दक्षिणापथ—नर्मदातापीपयोष्णीगोदावरीकावेरीभैमरथीवेणवाकृष्णवेणवावञ्जुरातुङ्गभद्राताम्रपर्ण्युत्पलावती-रावणगङ्गाद्या नद्यः । (c) पश्चाद्देश—सरस्वतीश्वभ्रवतीवार्तघ्नीमहीहिडिंबाद्या नद्यः । (d) उत्तरापथ—गङ्गासिन्धुसरस्वतीशतद्रुचन्द्रभागायमुनेरावतीवितस्ताविपाशाकुहूदेविकाद्या नद्यः । For longer lists of rivers, see *Mbh*, VI, ch. 9, 14-36; *Varāha Purāṇa*, ch. 85, etc.

94. Vy *adc*, Bmd—नद्याः स्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः, *c*—नद्याः श्रोतस्तु गङ्गायाः ; Mts—स्रोतांसि त्रिपथायास्तु. Note that Alberuni utilised in regard to this section the text of Mts ; therefore here we shall have to speak of Mts *d* instead of Vy *b*. Thus Vy, when unspecified, would indicate here all the versions excepting Vy *b*.

95. Vy, Bmd—प्रत्यपद्यत सप्तधा ; Mts—प्रत्यपद्यन्त सप्तधा.

96. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—नलिनी ह्लादिनी चैव ; Mts *abc*—नलिनी ह्रादिनी चैव.

97. Vy *a*— पावनी चैव प्राग्गता ; Vy *cde*—पावनी चैव प्राग्गता ; Mts पावनी चैव प्राच्यगा.

सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च[98] प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः[99] ।
सप्तमी त्वनुगा तासां[100] दक्षिणेन भगीरथम्[101] ॥
तस्माद्भागीरथी या सा[102] प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्[103] ॥

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98. Vy, Mts, Bmd—सीता चक्षुश्च सिन्धुश्च.

99. Vy, Bmd—प्रतीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ; Mts—तिस्रस्ता वै प्रतीच्यगाः.

100. Vy, Mts—सप्तमी त्वनुगा तासां ; Bmd—सप्तमी समानीता.

101. Vy *acd*—दक्षिणेन भागीरथी ; Vy *e*, Mts—दक्षिणेन भगीरथम् ; Bmd—भगीरथमहात्मना.

102. Vy *a*—अस्माद् भागीरथी या सा, *cde*, Bmd—तस्माद् भागीरथी या सा ; Mts—तस्माद् भागीरथी सा वै. For these seven rivers, cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 43, 11-14 ; 44, 6): विससर्ज ततो गङ्गां हरो बिन्दुसरः प्रति । तस्यां विसृज्यमानायां सप्तस्रोतांसि जज्ञिरे ॥ ह्लादिनी पावनी चैव नलिनी च तथैव च । तिस्रः प्राचीं दिशं जग्मुर्गङ्गाः शिवजलाः शुभाः ॥ सुचक्षुश्चैव सीता च सिन्धुश्चैव महानदी । तिस्रश्चैता दिशं जग्मुः प्रतीचीन्तु दिशं शुभाः ॥ सप्तमी चान्वगात्तासां भगीरथरथन्तदा ।......त्रीन् पथो भावयन्तीति तस्मात् त्रिपथगा स्मृता ॥ Of the seven streams, there is no difficulty about the identification of the Gaṅgā or Bhāgīrathī which is no other than the Ganges and of the Sindhu which is the Indus. The western stream Cakṣu is also apparently the same as Vakṣu or Vaṁkṣu, i.e., the Oxus or Amu Darya, while the second western river called Sītā may be no other than the Jaxartes or Syr Darya. As the eastern stream Hlādinī or Hrādinī is said to have run through the country of the Kirātas, who were hill-men inhabiting the eastern Himālayas, this river may be tentatively identified with the upper Brahmaputra. Indradvīpa, through which the other eastern river called Pāvanī passed, is identified by some scholars with Burma (see note 167 below). This river may thus be tentatively identified with the Irawadi. See note 164 below on Vetrapatha and Śaṅkupatha (in Suvarṇabhūmi) through which the Pāvanī is said to have passed. The third eastern stream called Nalinī cannot be identified ; but it is said to have entered into the sea in the Saimi-*maṇḍala* which reminds us of Siam. [The name of Siam (Syāma-raṭṭha)), which is unconnected with Sanskrit *śyāma*, is derived from that of a tribe called in Chinese *Sien*, Burmese *Shan*, Malayan *Syam*, Annamite *Xiem* and Cham *Syāṁ*.] The Nalinī may thus be tentatively identified with the Salween or the Mekong. It must be remembered that the theory attributing the origin of all the seven rivers to the same lake in the Himālayas has to be regarded as a mere flight of fancy. The lists of countries washed by the rivers do not appear to be always accurate.

103. Vy, Mts *a*, Bmd—प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम् ; Mts *bc*—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्.

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सप्तैता भावयन्तीह[104] हिमाह्वं वर्षमेव तु[105] ।
प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्ताः[106] शुभा विन्दुसरोद्भवाः [107] ॥
नानादेशान् भावयन्त्यो[108] म्लेच्छप्रायांश्च सर्वशः[109] ।
[110]उपगच्छन्ति ताः सर्वा[111] यतो वर्षति वासवः[112] ॥

B

सिरीन्ध्रान् कुकुरांश्चीनान्[113] वर्वरान् यवनान् शकान्[114] ।
रुषाणांश्च कुणिन्दांश्च[115] अङ्गलोकवरांश्च यान्[116] ॥
कृत्वा द्विधा हिमवन्तं[117] सीतागात् पश्चिमोदधिम्[118] ॥

104. Vy, Bmd—सप्तैता भावयन्तीह ; Mts—सप्त चैता ह्लावयन्ति.

105. Vy, Bmd—हिमाह्वं वर्षमेवतु ; Mts *a*—वर्षन्ति हिमसाह्वयम्, *bc*—वर्षं तु हिमसाह्वयम् . The Hima *varṣa* was otherwise called Haimavata or Bhārata *varṣa* (Bmd, I, 33, 55, etc.) lying between the Himālayas and the sea.

106. Vy, Bmd—प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्ताः ; Mts—प्रसूताः सप्त नद्यस्तु.

107. Vy, Bmd, Mts—शुभा विन्दुसरोद्भवाः.

108. Vy *a*—नानादेशान् भावयन्तो, *d*—नानादेशान् भावयन्यो ; Bmd, Vy *ce*—नानादेशान् भावयन्त्यो ; Mts—तान् देशान् ह्लावयन्ति स्म.

109. Vy, Mts, Bmd—म्लेच्छप्रायांश्च सर्वशः. cf. note 143 below.

110. The following line is omitted in Mts.

111. Vy, Bmd—उपगच्छन्ति ताः सर्वाः.

112. Vy, Bmd—यतो वर्षति वासवः.

113. Vy—सिरीन्ध्रान् कुन्तलांश्चीनान् ; Mts *abc*—सशैलान् कुकुरान् रौध्रान् ; Bmd—सिरोन्ध्रान् कुकुरांश्चीनान् ; Mts *d*—सलिलान् कस्तुंवांश्चोनान्. For the Cīnas, see *List of Peoples*, note 31.

114. Vy—वर्वरान् यवसान द्रुहान् ; Bmd—वर्वरान् यवनान् द्रुहान् ; Mts *ab*—वर्वरान् यवसान् खसान्, *c*—वर्वरान् यवनान खसान्, v. l.—वर्वरान् यवनाञ्छकान्, *d*—वर्वरान् यवसान् ब्रहान्. For the Varvaras and Yavanas, see *List of Peoples*, notes 30 and 20.

115. Vy, Bmd—रुषाणांश्च कुणिन्दांश्च ; Mts *abc*—पुलिकांश्च कुलत्थांश्च, *d*—पुष्करांश्च कुलतांश्च. For the Kuṇindas, see *L. P.*, note 22, although the people indicated here must have lived in Central Asia. The Ruṣūṇas were the people of Roshan in the Tadzhik Republic.

116. Vy, Bmd—अङ्गलोकवराश्च ये ; Mts *abc*—अङ्गलोक्यान् वरांश्च यान्, *d*—मङ्गलकवरांश्च यान्. See *L. P.*, note 30.

117. Vy—कृत्वा द्विधा सिन्धुमरुं ; Bmd—कृत्वा द्विधा सिन्धुमेरुं ; Mts *abc*—कृत्वा द्विधा हिमवन्तं, *d*—कृत्वा द्विधा सङ्गवन्तं.

118. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—सीतागात पश्चिमोदधिम् ; Mts *abc*—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्.

C

अथ चीनमरूंश्चैव[119] तङ्गनान् सर्वशूलिकान्[120] ।
साध्रांस्तुषारान् लम्पाकान्[121] पह्लवान् पारदान् शकान्[121] ॥
एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः[123] प्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम्[124] ॥

D

दरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान्[125] गान्धारान् औरसान् कुहून्[126] ।
शिवपौरान् इन्द्रमरून्[127] वसातींश्च विसर्जयान्[128] ॥

119. Vy, Bmd, Mts *ad*—अथ चीनमरूंश्चैव ; Mts *bc*—अथ वीरमरूंश्चैव.

120. Vy *ac*, Bmd—तङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान्, *cd*—नङ्गणान् सर्वमूलिकान्, *e* (v. l.)—तङ्गणान् सर्वशूलिकान् ; Mts *a*—कालिकांश्चैव चूलकान्, *bc*—कालिकांश्चैव शूलिकान्, *d*—कालिकांश्चैव धूलिकान्. For the Taṅgaṇas and Cūlikas, see *L. P.*, notes 41 and 36. The correct reading of the last name may be *Cūlikān*.

121. Vy *ace*—सान्ध्रांस्तुषारांस्तम्पाकान्, *d*—साध्रांस्तुषारांस्तम्पाकान् ; Mts *abc*—तुषारान् वर्वराकारान्, *d*—तुखारान् वर्वराकारान् ; Bmd—साध्रांस्तुषारान् लम्पाकान्. For the Tuṣāras or Tukhāras and the Lampākas, see *L. P.*, notes 31 and 35.

122. Vy *a*—पह्लवान् दरदान् शकान् ; Bmd, Vy *cde*—पह्लवान् दरदान् शकान् ; Mts *abc*—पह्लवान् पारदान् शकान्, *d*—बारवाश्वतान् (sic. पारदाञ्छकान्). See *L. P.*, notes 19, 23.

123. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतान् जनपदांश्चक्षुः.

124. Vy *ac* (v. l.) *e*—ह्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम्, *cde* (v. l.), Bmd—ह्लावयन्ती गतोदधिम् ; Mts—ह्लावयित्वोदधिं गता.

125. Vy, Bmd—दारदांश्च सकाश्मीरान् ; Vy *e* (v. l.)—मरदांश्च सकाश्मीरान् ; Mts *abc*—दरदोर्ज्जगुडांश्चैव, *d*—दरदजिन्दुतुन्दांश्च. See *L. P.*, notes 29, 41.

126. Vy, Bmd—गान्धारान् वरपान् हृदान् ; Mts *abc*—गान्धारान् औरसान् कुहून्, *d*—गान्धारान् रूरसान् (sic. औरसान्) कृगान्. See *L. P.*, notes 20, 38. The Kuhus appear to have been the people inhabiting the valley of the Kuhu or Kabul river.

127. Vy, Bmd—शिवपौरान् इन्द्रहासान् ; Mts—शिवपौरान् इन्द्रमरून्. The Śivapauras must have been the inhabitants of Śivapura, i.e. the modern Shorkot in the Jhang District of the Panjab.

128. Vy—वदातींश्च विसर्जयान् ; Bmd—वसातींश्च विसर्जयान् ; Mts *abc*—वसतीन् समतेजसम्, *d*—सबातोन् (sic. वसातीन्)...The Vasātis (Ossadioi of the Greeks) appear to have "occupied parts of the territory drained by the lower Acesines (Chenab) and situated between the confluence of that river with the Rāvī and the Indus respectively".

सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रकरकान्[129] भ्रमराभीररोमकान्[130] ।
शुनामुखांश्चोर्द्धमरून्[131] सिन्धुरेतान्निषेवते[132] ॥

E

गन्धर्वान् किन्नरान् यक्षान्[133] रक्षोविद्याधरोरगान्[134] ।
कलापग्रामकांश्चैव[135] तथा किंपुरुषान् खसान्[136] ॥

129. Vy, Bmd—सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रकरकान् ; Vy *a* (v. l.)—सैन्धवान् रन्ध्रवरकान् ; Mts *abc*—सैन्धवानुर्वसान् वर्वान्, d—सैन्धवान् कुबतान् (sic. कूपथान्)... Other names in *Alb. Ind.* are Bahīmarvara, Mara, Mrūna and Sukurda which are apparently due to mistakes in the Arabic manuscripts of Alberuni's work consulted by Sachau. For the Saindhavas see *L. P.*, note 21 and for the variant readings of the other name, *ibid.*, note 24.

130. Vy—भ्रमराभीररोहकान्, *e* (v. l.)—भ्रमटाभोररोहकान् ; Bmd—भ्रमराभीररोमकान् ; Mts *abc*—कुगथान् भीमरोमकान्. *L. P.*, note 17 would suggest आभीरान् कालतोयकान्. But the Romakas may be the people of Rumā living probably near the Salt Range.

131. Vy. Bmd—शुनामुखांश्चोर्द्धमनून् ; Mts *abc*—शुनामुखांश्चोर्द्धमरून्.

132. Vy—सिद्धचारणसेवितान्, *c* (v. l.), Mts *abc*, Bmd—सिन्धुरेतान्निषेवते.

133. Vy, Mts, Bmd—गन्धर्वान् किन्नरान् यक्षान्. Alberuni explains the Gandharvas as musicians. These names originally indicated certain tribal peoples, although later they came to imply classes of mythical beings. The Kinnaras and Yakṣas were probably names applied to some Himālayan tribes, while Gandharva appears to have been the original name of the people later called Gandhāra (cf. *Rām.*, VII, 101, 11 : तक्षं तक्षशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते । गन्धर्वदेशे रुचिरे गान्धारविषये च सः ॥ etc.). The names however seem to have been used in the present context in the sense of the mythical tribes.

134. Vy, Bmd, Mts—रक्षोविद्याधरोरगान्. Alberuni explains the Uragas as those who creep on their breasts, i.e. the serpents. These three names, like those mentioned in note 133 above, originally indicated certain non-Aryan tribal peoples but were later used to indicate mythical tribes. They appear to be used in the present context in the mythical sense.

135. Vy, Bmd, Mts—कलापग्रामकांश्चैव. Alberuni explains Kalāpagrāma as the city of the most virtuous people.

136. Vy, Bmd—पारदान् सीगनान् खसान्, *e* (v. l.)—पारदांस्ताङ्गणान् खसान् ; Mts *abc*—तथा किंपुरुषान् नरान्, *d*—तथा किंपुरुषान् खसान्. Alberuni explains the Khasas as mountaineers. The name Kimpuruṣa was originally applied to a Himālayan people but was later used to indicate

किरातांश्च पुलिन्दांश्च[137] कुरून् सभरतानपि[138] ।
पञ्चालकाशिमत्स्यांश्च[139] मगधाङ्गांस्तथैव च[140] ॥
ब्रह्मोत्तरांश्च वङ्गांश्च[141] ताम्रलिप्तांस्तथैव च[142] ।
एतान् जनपदानार्यान्[143] गङ्गा भावयते शुभा[144] ॥
ततः प्रतिहता विन्ध्ये[145] प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्[146] ॥

F

ततश्च ह्लादिनी पुण्या[147] प्राचीनाभिमुखं ययौ[148] ।

a mythical tribe. The Khasas were a Himālayan tribe now represented by the Khakkas of Kashmir.

137. Vy, Bmd, Mts—किरातांश्च पुलिन्दांश्च. Alberuni explains the Pulindas as hunters of the plains or robbers. For the Kirātas, see *L. P.*, note 115 ; the Pulindas were an aboriginal people inhabiting the Vindhyan region ; but the name was later applied to Vindhyan mountaineers in general and still later to any aboriginal people. The meaning of *Kirāta*, originally a Himālayan tribe, was also similarly modified.

138. Vy, Bmd—कुरून् सभरतानपि ; Mts—कुरून् वै भरतानपि. According to the epic and Purāṇic traditions, the Kurus and the Bharatas belonged to the same clan. For the Kurus, see *L. P.*, note 2.

139. Vy, Bmd—पञ्चालकाशिमत्स्यांश्च ; Mts *a*—पञ्चालकौशिकान् मत्स्यान्, *bc*—पाञ्चालान् कौशिकान् मत्स्यान्, *d*—पाञ्चालान् कौत्रकान् मत्स्यान. See *L. P.*, notes 2, 6 and 7. But *Matsya* may be a mistake for *Vatsa* which was the name of the people inhabiting the Allahabad region.

140. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—मगधाङ्गांस्तथैव च. Mts *d* omits *Aṅga*. See *L. P.*, notes 46 and 56.

141. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—ब्रह्मोत्तरांश्च वङ्गांश्च ; Mts *d* omits *Vaṅga*. See *L. P.*, notes 46 and 52.

142. Vy, Bmd, Mts—ताम्रलिप्तांस्तथैव च. See *L. P.*, note 55.

143. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतान् जनपदान् आर्यान्. Cf. the reference here to *ārya* with *mleccha-prāyāṁś=cha sarvaśaḥ* in note 109 above.

144. Vy, Bmd—गङ्गा भावयते शुभान् ; Mts, Vy *e* (v. l.)—गङ्गा भावयते शुभा.

145. Vy, Bmd, Mts—ततः प्रतिहता विन्ध्ये.

146. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोदधिम्.

147. Vy—ततश्चाह्लादिनी पुण्या ; Bmd—ततश्च ह्लादिनी पुण्या ; Mts—ततस्तु ह्लादिनो पुण्या.

148. Vy *ac*—प्राचीनाभिमुखं ययौ ; Mts *bc*, Vy *de*—प्राचीनाभिमुखी ययौ ; Vy *e* (v. l.), Mts *a*—प्राचीनाभिमुखा ययौ ; Bmd—प्राचीमाभिमुखी ययौ.

प्लावयन्त्युपकानांश्च[149] निषादानपि सर्वशः[150] ॥
धीवरानृषिकांश्चैव[151] तथा नीलमुखानपि[152] ।
केकरानुष्ट्रकर्णांश्च[153] किरातानपि चैव हि[154] ॥
कालोदरान् विवर्णांश्च[155] कुशिकान् स्वर्गभूमिकान्[156] ।
सा मण्डले समुद्रस्य[157] तिरोभूतानुपूर्वतः[158] ॥

G

ततस्तु पावनी चैव[159] प्राचीमेव दिशं गता[160] ।

149. Vy, Bmd—प्लावयन्त्युपभोगांश्च ; Mts *abc*—प्लावयन्त्युपकांश्चैव, *d*—प्लावयन्त्युपकानांश्च.

150. Vy, Bmd—निषादानाञ्च जातयः ; Mts *abc*—निषादानपि सर्वशः, *d*—निषावानपि (sic.) सर्वशः.

151. Vy, Mts *abc*—धीवरानृषिकांश्चैव ; Bmd—धीवरानृषकांश्चैव ; Mts *d*—धीवरान् प्रिषकांश्चैव.

152. Vy, Bmd, Mts—तथा नीलमुखानपि.

153. Vy, Bmd—केरलानुष्ट्रकर्णांश्च ; Vy *e* (v. l.)—केरलानोष्टकर्णांश्च ; Mts *abc*—केकरान् एककर्णांश्च. *c* (v. l.) *d*—केकरान् उष्ट्रकर्णांश्च. Alberuni explains the Uṣṭrakarṇas as a people whose lips are turned like their ears possibly through a confusion of the word *uṣṭra* with *oṣṭha*.

154. Vy, Bmd, Mts—किरातानपि चैव हि.

155. Vy, Bmd—कालोदरान् विवर्णांश्च ; Mts *abc*—कालञ्जरान् विवर्णांश्च, *c* (v. l.)—कालिन्दगतिकांश्चैव, *d*—कलीदरान् विवर्णांश्च. Alberuni explains Vivarṇa as the colourless people so called on account of their intensely black complexion.

156. Vy, Bmd—कुमारान् स्वर्णभूषितान् ; Vy *e* (v. l.)—कुमारीस्वर्णभूषितान् ; Mts *abc*—कुशिकान् स्वर्गभोमकान्, *c* (v. l.), *d*—कुशिकान् स्वर्गभूमिकान्, कुशिकान् पर्णभूमिकान्. Alberuni explains Svargabhūmi as a country like paradise.

157. Vy, Bmd, Mts—सा मण्डले समुद्रस्य.

158. Vy, Bmd—तिरोभूतानुपूर्वतः ; Mts *abc*—तीरे भूत्वा तु सर्वशः, *c* (v. l.)—तीरे भूत्वा चतुर्दश.

159. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—ततस्तु पावनी चैव, Mts *abc*—ततस्तु नलिनी चापि. Note that there is difference between the extant versions of Mts and those of Vy and Bmd, but that the Mts manuscript consulted by Alberuni supports Vy and Bmd.

160. Vy, Bmd—प्राचीमेव दिशं गता ; Mts—प्राचीमेव दिशं ययौ.

कुपथान् प्लावयन्तीह[161] इन्द्रदुयम्नसरांस्यपि[162] ॥
तथा खरपथांश्चैव[163] वेत्रशङ्कुपथानपि[164] ।
मध्येनोद्यानकमरून्[165] कुथप्रावरणान् ययौ[166] ॥

161. Vy *acde* (v. l.), Bmd—अपथान् भावयन्तीह ; Vy *e*—अपथान् स्रावयन्तीह ; Mts—कुपथान् स्रावयन्ती सा. Alberuni explains Kupatha as a people who are far from sin. For names ending in *patha* or *mārga*, cf. Siddhapatha (*Rājatar.*, VIII, 557), the old name of the Sidau or Budil pass (14000 ft.) in Kashmir. See also note 164 below.

162. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रद्युम्नसरोपि च ; Mts—इन्द्रद्युम्नसरांस्यपि. Alberuni explains the passage as 'the cisterns of king Indradyumna'.

163. Vy, Bmd—तथा खरपथांश्चैव ; Mts—तथा खरपथान् देशान्. Kharapatha reminds us of Ajapatha and Verāpatha, mentioned in the Buddhist *Niddesa* commentary, and the latter also by Ptolemy as Berabai which was not far from Takkola about the present istmus of Kra (cf. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 56-60 ; Lévi, *Études Asiatiques*, II, pp. 1-55). See note 164 below.

164. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रशङ्कुपथानपि ; Mts—वेत्रशङ्कुपथानपि. Śaṅkupatha is mentioned in the *Niddesa* commentary (cf. note 163 above) along with Verāpatha, Jaṇṇupatha, Ajapatha, Meṇḍhapatha, Chatrapatha, Vaṁśapatha, Śakuṇapatha, Muṣikapatha and Darīpatha. Vetrapatha (possibly called Vettādhāra or Vettācāra in the *Niddesa*) is mentioned in connection with Suvarṇabhūmi (the land beyond the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal) in the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*. These extraordinary routes (passes ?) are also referred to in other early Indian works such as the *Vimānavatthu*, the *Tittira Jātaka*, the *Milindapañha*, Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini, V, 1, 77 and the *Gaṇapāṭha*. It has been suggested that the knowledge of the Far East exhibited by the *Niddesa* did not exist in India before the first century A.D. but that it is earlier than the third century A.D. The *Niddesa* list, with which the Purāṇic section under discussion may be contemporaneous, has been assigned to a date between the end of the first and the beginning of the third century A.D. Incidentally it may be pointed out that reference to knowledge of the Far East in the *Mahābhāṣya* points to a late date of the work in its present form as exactly suggested in *IHQ*., XV, pp, 633ff.

165. Vy *a*—मध्येनोद्याकमरारान् *cde* (v. l.), Bmd—मध्येनोद्यानमस्कारान् ; Vy *e*—मध्येनोद्यानमकरान् ; Mts *abc*—मध्येनोज्ज्ानकमरून्, *d*—मध्येनोद्यानमरूरान्.

166. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—कुथप्रावरणान् ययौ ; Mts *d*—कुशप्रावरणान् ययौ.

167. Vy, Bmd, Mts *a*—इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रे तु ; Mts *bc*—इन्द्रद्वीपसमीपे तु, *c* (v. l.)—इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रान्ते. For the identification of Indradvīpa with Burma,

इन्द्रद्वीपसमुद्रे तु[167] प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम्[168] ॥

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ततश्च नलिनी चागात्[169] प्राचीमाशां जवेन तु[170] ।
तोमरान् भावयन्तीह[171] हंसमार्गान् सहूहुकान्[172] ॥
पूर्वान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती[173] भित्त्वा सा वहुधा गिरीन्[174] ।
कर्णप्रावरणांश्चैव[175] प्राप्य चाश्वमुखानपि[176] ॥
सिक्ता पर्वतमरून् सा[177] गत्वा विद्याधरानपि[178] ।
शैमिमण्डलकोष्ठे तु[179] प्रविष्टा सा महोदधिम्[180] ॥

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see Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, ed. by Majumdar Sastri, pp. 751-52.

168. Vy, Bmd, Mts – प्रविष्टा लवणोदधिम्.

169. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—ततश्च नलिनी चागात् ; Mts *abc*—ततस्तु पावनी प्रायात्. Note the difference between the two versions ; cf. note 159 above.

170. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्राचीमाशां जवेन तु.

171. Vy *acde* (v. l.), Bmd—तोमरान् भावयन्तीह ; Vy *e*—तोमरान् ह्लावयन्तीह ; Mts *abc*—तोमरान् ह्लावयन्तो च, *d*—तामरान्, ह्लावयन्ती च. See *L. P.*, note 40.

172. Vy *acd*—हंसमार्गान् सहूहुकान्, *c* (v. l.), Bmd – हंसमार्गान् बहूदकान् ; Vy *e*—हंसमार्गान् सहूहुकान् (sic.) ; Mts *abc*—हंसमार्गान् समूहकान्, *d*— हंसमार्गान् समूहुकान्. See *L. P.*, note 40.

173. Vy, Bmd, Mts *abc*—पूर्वान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती ; Mts *d*—पूर्णान् देशांश्च सेवन्ती.

174. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरीन्, Mts *abc*—भित्त्वा सा बहुधा गिरिम्.

175. Vy, Bmd – कर्णप्रावरणांश्चैव ; Mts—कर्णप्रावरणान् प्राप्य. Alberuni explains *Karṇaprāvaraṇa* as a people whose ears used to fall down on their shoulders.

176. Vy, Bmd—प्राप्य चाश्वमुखानपि ; Mts—गता साश्वमुखानपि. Alberuni explains *Aśvamukha* as a people with horse faces.

177. Vy, Bmd—सिकतापर्वतमरून् ; Mts *abc*—सिक्ता पर्वतमेरुं सा, *d*—सिक्ता पर्वतमरुं सा. Alberuni explains *parvata-maru* as mountainous steppes.

178. Vy, Bmd—गत्वा विद्याधरान् ययौ ; Mts—गत्वा विद्याधरानपि.

179. Vy—नेमिमण्डलकोष्ठे तु ; Bmd—नेमिमण्डलमध्येन ; Mts *ac*—शैमिमण्डलकोष्ठं तु, *b* – शौमिमण्डलकोष्ठं तु, *d*—रूमीमण्डलकोष्ठं तु. *Koṣṭhe* may be a mistake for *kacche*.

180. Vy, Bmd, Mts *d*—प्रविष्टा सा महोदधिम् ; Mts *abc*—सा प्रविष्टा महत्सरः.

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

Chapter XXXVII

The events at the time of the Four Sena Kings and others

Lavasena's son was Kaśasena, his son Maṇitasena, his son Rathikasena. Though the number of years which each of them ruled is not known, all the four kings taken together did not rule for more than about eighty years. During this time Buddha's doctrine was looked after by Śubhākaragupta, Raviśrījñāna, Nayakapaśrī, Daśabalaśrī, and a little time after these, by Dharmākaraśānti, Śrīviśrutadeva, Niṣkalaṃkadeva, Dharmodgataśānti, Abhayākara and his followers, who were all learned Siddhas and masters of Buddha-śāstras. At the time of King Rathikasena there appeared the so-called twenty four Mahantas[1], the great Paṇḍita of Kāśmīr Śākyaśrībhadra, Buddhaśrī of Nepal[2], the great Ācārya Ratnarakṣita, the great Paṇḍita Jñānākaragupta, the great Paṇḍita Buddhaśrīmitra, the great Paṇḍita Saṃgamajñāna, Raviśrībhadra, Candrākaragupta and others, who were devoted to the Śambara[3] and were Vajradharas and had crossed the sea of Śāstras.

The life of the great Paṇḍita Śākyaśrī is well known. The Nepalese Buddhaśrī was for some time the *sthavira* of the Mahāsaṅghikas in Vikramaśilā, but in Nepal he taught the Pāramitā and the secret Mantras. He followed the Tantric form of conduct.

The great Ācārya Ratnarakṣita is said to have been equal to Śākyaśrī in knowledge of the Pāramitā-yāna and the Śāstras ; Śākyaśrī is said to have been more learned in logic, but he was more learned in the secret Mantras, in conferring blessings and in exercise of magical powers they are said to have been equal; he belonged to the school of the Mahāsaṅghikas and was Mantra-Ācārya in Vikramaśilā; he visualised Cakrasambara, Kālacakra, Yamāri etc. Once he heard in Potala through the sound of music which the Nāgas and Asūras offered to Ārya Avalokita the explanation of the 16 kinds of Śūnyatās.[4] At the time of benedictions, he was able to create enthusiasm for knowledge in Logic. The

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[1] མ་ཧྣ་ཏྟ། [2] བལ་པོ། [3] སྡོམ་བརྩོན།

[4] Cf. *Pañcaviṁśati P. P.*, I, p. 196-7.—Trs.

Dākiṇis received the blessing sprinkles directly from him. When he turned his magic glance[1] at a mad elephant, its body became stiff. He prophesied the conquest of Magadha two years in advance and from this time onwards a great number of his disciples who believed in him went to Kāśmīra and Nepal. At the time of the fall of Magadha he went to the north and on his way to Tirāhuti[2] he brought a vicious buffalo, which had appeared in the forest, under his power by his magic glance[1], so that it licked his feet and accompanied him for about one *yojana*. For the benefit of the people of Nepal, he went to Tibet for a short time and there he wrote a commentary on Saṃvarodaya.[3]

Jñānākaragupta visualised Maitreya's face. Buddhaśrīmitra heard while asleep the doctrine from Vajravārāhī. He could subdue an elephant with a slap of his hand and by magic glance[1] he could perform other miracles. All these were very proficient in all Śāstras, and they visualised the faces of great deities and obtained the merits for perfection and ultimate peace. I am unable to tell their life-stories as I have neither seen nor heard truthful biographies of every one of them.

Vajraśrī, Daśabala's disciple, reached at that time his 100th year, and then he lived again for about another 100 years, worked for the welfare of beings and had not the appearance of infirmity or old age; in the south he brought many thousands who were worthy of it to maturity in the Mantra-yāna and helped them in obtaining emancipation.

During the time of these four Senas the Tīrthikas increased more and more in Magadha and many followers of the Turuṣka-system of the Tajiks appeared.[4] In Odantapurī and in Vikramaśilā the king erected for some time a kind of fortress, and some soldiers were appointed for its protection. A Mahāyāna-school was founded in Vajrāsana and there appeared also some *Yogins* (meditators) and Mahāyāna-followers who preached the religion. During the summer about

[1] གྲུབ་པའི་ལྟས = सिद्धदृष्टि ।

[2] ཏི་རཱ་ཧུ་ཏི །

[3] སྡོམ་འབྱུང་གི་འགྲེལ །

[4] སྟག་གཟིག་ཀླ་ཀློའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འཛིན་པ་ཡང་མང་དུ་བྱུང་ །

10,000 Saindhava-Śrāvakas gathered. Other centres of teaching mostly met with destruction. It is said that in Vikramaśilā and Odantapurī, there were as many inmates as at Abhayākara's time.

After King Rathika's death when Lavasena had taken up the government, some years passed in peace. Then there appeared in the country of Antarvedi[1] between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā the Turuṣka-king Candra[2] and with the help of some Bhikṣus who were the king's messengers he formed a coalition with other small Turuṣka-kings living in Bhaṅgala and other parts of the country and conquered the whole country of Magadha. He killed many priests in Odantapurī, and destroyed it as well as Vikramaśilā. In the place of the Odantavihāra a fortress of the Tajiks was erected.

Paṇḍita Śākyaśrī went to the east to Jagaddala situated in Oḍiviśa. After he had stayed there for three years he came to Tibet. Ratnarakṣita senior went to Nepal, the great scholar Jñānākaragupta and the other great Paṇḍitas with about one hundred junior Paṇḍitas went to the south-west of India. The great scholar Buddhaśrīmitra and Daśabala's disciple Vajraśrī and many other junior Paṇḍitas escaped far to the south. The scholar Saṃgamaśrījñāna, Raviśrībhadra, Candrākaragupta and the other sixteen Mahantas and two hundred junior Paṇḍitas went further east to Rakhaṅ Muñaṅ, Kamboja and other countries. In Magadha the doctrine was as good as extinguished. Though there were many people learned in and devoted to *siddhis* at that time, there was no means to apply them to the welfare of beings. At this time the Yogins following Gorakṣa were mostly very stupid and in order to obtain honours from the Tīrthika-kings they became Īśvara-followers, and said that they would not resist even the Turuṣkas. Only Naṭeśvara's little school remained in the Buddha-doctrine.

Lavasena, his son Buddhasena, his son Haritasena, his son Pratītasena, etc. all of them were kings of very limited powers, as they had to accept orders from the Turuṣkas. In view of their limited power, they rendered a little service to the doctrine. At Buddhasena's time there lived the great Paṇḍita Rāhulaśrībhadra in Nālandā and had about seventy people who listened to

[1] ཨ་ནྟ་ར་བྱེ་དི།

[2]

the law. Bhumiśrībhadra lived after him, and after him Upāyaśrībhadra. At the same time with these Karuṇāśrībhadra and Munindraśrībhadra supported the doctrine of the saint with fervour. After Pratītasena's death his family ended and though it is said that some small kings were devoted to the doctrine, I have not seen any historical authorities about it.

After about a hundred years had passed after Pratītasena's death the energetic Cangalarāja[1] lived in the country of Bhaṅgala. He ruled over all Hindus and Turuṣkas up to Ḍili.[2] Though at the beginning he was devoted to Brahmanism, his mind was changed by his wife who believed in Buddha. He offered great sacrifices in Vajrāsana, re-established all destroyed temples, excellently restored four of the nine storeyed Mahā Gandhola,[3] which had been destroyed by the Turuṣkas. When Paṇḍita Śāriputra stayed there, he erected a religious institution. In Nālandā, too, he rendered great reverence to the temples, but he did not erect big institutions. This king lived for a long time. Since his death about 160 years have passed. I have not heard that there were kings in Magadha after him who rendered honour to religion; therefore I have also not heard if Sādhakas and Piṭaka-holders lived there. Later on there appeared in Oḍiviśa the King Mukundadeva who ruled also over a great part of Madhyadeśa; he did not establish any institution for teaching in Magadha, but he erected Buddhist temples in Oḍiviśa, and a few small institutions for teaching and he spread the doctrine a little. Since the death of this king thirty-eight years have passed, as it is well-known.

The 37th chapter the events at the time of the four Sena-kings and others.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Order of Succession of Vikramaśilā's Teachers

Now there are some minor matters to be told. From the time of the former King Śrīmant Dharmapāla until the time of Canaka during

[1] ཙཾ་ག་ལརཱ་ཛ། [2] ཊེ་ལི་ཚུན་ཆོད་ཀྱི་ཧི་ནྡུ་དང་ཏུ་རུཥྐ།

[3] ག་ནྡྷ་ལ་ཆེན་པོ།

five generations, one great Mantra-Vajrācārya was in charge of the doctrine in Vikramaśilā. At the time of King Dharmapāla himself, Ācārya Buddhajñānapāda guided the doctrine at first, then Dīpaṃkarabhadra. His biography is related elsewhere. At the time of King Masurakṣita came the Laṅkā-Jayabhadra[1]; this Ācārya was born in the country of Laṅkā or Siṃhala and he was proficient in all Śrāvaka-piṭakas and resided in this country as a Bhikṣu-Paṇḍita. He came to Magadha and became well versed in Mahāyāna, he became especially very well-versed in the secret Mantras; in Vikramaśilā he perfected himself in Cakrasambara-siddhi. Once he came to the south, to Koṅkana; there was a Caitya, called Mahābimba, which, it is said, could not be touched, and of which there was a reflection hovering in space. He stayed there and recited many Mantra-yāna texts to some disciples. He wrote the commentary on Cakrasambaratantra etc. He obtained such magic power that when a vicious buffalo of the forest attacked him, he subdued it by his forefinger and the buffalo perished, and so on. In Vikramaśilā he became a Mantrācārya. After him came the Brahmana Ācārya Śrīdhara. His biography is given elsewhere. When it was heard that he had performed great miracles in the south he was invited to Vikramaśilā. That this Ācārya was Jñānapāda's disciple [*tantra-dhara*[2]] becomes evident from the Rakta- and Kṛṣṇa-yamāri[3] works written by him. The Tibetans think him to be Ācārya Kṛṣṇacārin's disciple, and though this does not agree with the time of his birth, nevertheless he must have been his disciple as he visualised him. At the time Brahmin Śrīdhara was constantly engaged in sādhana. One morning he went outside in order to collect flowers and other objects for worship. There was a Yogin of great majesty in front of the door. When he had recognized in him Kṛṣṇacārin, he bowed at his feet and begged help to accomplish the *sādhana*. After reciting the Sarasvatī-Mantras, he gave him instructions and disappeared. Immediately afterwards he saw Sarasvatī in the northwest of the magic circle and not long afterwards he obtained the Siddhi.

[1] ལ་ངྐཱ་རྒྱལ་བ་བཟང་པོ། [2] བརྒྱུད་འཛིན།

[3] གཤིན་རྗེ་གཤེད་དམར་པོ=a tutelary god—the Red Bhairava (see S. C. Das, Dict.)—Trs.

After him there came Bhavabhadra. He, too, was generally proficient in all sciences, and especially well-versed in Vijñāna-siddhi[1] and he knew about 50 Tantra-sections. He was blessed in his sleep by Cakrasambara, visualised Tarā, practised Bindu-siddhi[2] and in the end perfected himself in the same. Pursuing to the utmost the Siddhis and obtaining many *rasāyana*[3] (life-elixir) siddhis, he rendered great service to himself and to others.

Bhavyakīrti[4] came after him. He, too, had crossed the ocean of mantras and texts and he was known as the possessor of unobstructed knowledge [अप्रतिहत-अभिज्ञा].

Līlāvajra lived after him. He obtained the Yamāri-siddhi. One can also assume that the *Bhayakaravetālāṣṭakasādhana* in Tibetan translation has been written by him. When it was told at this time that a Turuṣka-army was there, he drew a Yamārimaṇḍala[5] and uttered a spell for conquering the army. When the warriors had come to Magadha, all of them became mute for a long time, their bodies stiffened, etc. so that they turned back.

After him came Durjacandra. His story is related elsewhere.

After him came Kṛṣṇasamayavajra who has been mentioned above. Then came Tathāgatarakṣita; he obtained power over *Yamāri* and *Sambara*[6]; his best attainment was that, when he directed his attention to the main seat of his inner veins, he could understand the language of different countries, of animals, etc., and he could comprehend the Śāstras which he had not studied before.

After him came Bodhibhadra, who was well learned in all secret Mantras of dharmas of his own sect as well as of others. He was an Upāsaka. He visualised Mañjuśrī. He carried on *nāmakīrtan* and it is said that *nāmakīrtan* induced Samādhi. There were at that time many bearing the name Bodhibhadra; it is obvious that the Bodhi-

[1] རྣམ་རིག་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ །

[2] རིལ་བུའི་དངོས་གྲུབ །

[3] བཅུད་ལེན །

[4] སྐལ་ལྡན་གྲགས །

[5] གཤིན་རྗེ་གཤེད་ཀྱི་འཁོར །

[6] དེ་ནི་གཤིན་རྗེ་གཤེད་དང་བདེ་མཆོག་ལ་མངའ་བརྙེས་པ་ཡིན

bhadra of whom we are speaking was not so well known in Tibet formerly.

After him there came Kamalarakṣita. This Ācārya was a Bhikṣu. He learnt all *Sūtras* and *Mantras*, specially the *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Guhyasamāja* and *Yamāri-Tantras*. In southern Magadha, on a mountain called Andagiri,[1] he accomplished Yamāri sādhana. In the meantime, several obstructing magic phenomena appeared; these disappeared, however, after he had contemplated upon Śūnyatā. Then he visualised Yamāri and when he asked what he wanted, he said: "Make me your koṣa (vault)." Whereupon Yamāri became one [विलीन] with his heart. From this time onwards all things happened as soon as he only thought of them, and he was able to accomplish difficult things. Every evening he visualised Yamārikāryavajradhara and heard from him the law. When he once wanted to arrange a Gaṇacakra on the cemetery of Vikramaśilā, he took with him a number of Mantra-disciples; some Yogins, however, came with the materials for the *sādhana*. They met on the way a minister of the Turuṣka-king from the Karṇa-country in the west, who with 500 Turuṣkas went out to plunder Magadha. They robbed the materials for the *sādhana*, but when they started to offend the Ācārya and his followers, the Ācārya became angry, came nearer and threw down a jug filled with water over which Mantras had been spoken. A great violent wind arose on the spot; out of the wind some black men issued forth armed with swords, who began to strike the Turuṣkas. The minister himself died spitting blood and also the others were overtaken by infectious diseases, so that none of them went back and great fright came over Turuṣkas and Tīrthikas. Further he is said to have carried out many other *abhicārakarma*; had he not carried out this *abhicārakarma*, he would have been transformed into a rainbow-body[2], but on account of *abhicārakarma* even a great Yogin becomes infamous. This Ācārya was a very deserving teacher of the Jo-vo-rje of the Khyuṅpo yogins and others. He spent the last part of his life in constant *sādhana* in a forest not far from Nālandā and is said to have been occupied mostly with the contemplation of the way to perfection.

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[1] ཨད་གི་རི །

[2] འཇའ་ལུས=the body of a saint vanishing in the rainbow or in the manner of the colours of a rainbow (see S. C. Das, Tibetan Dict.)—Trs.

In this way, out of these twelve Ācāryas, i.e. excluding the first two, ten are said to have taken the (principal) seat, one after another, for twelve years each. After Kamalarakṣita, came the six learned guardians of the gate[1]. After them came many single Mantra-Ācāryas. The order of succession to the seat of the main-protector of the doctrine from Dīpaṃkarajñāna seems to be incomplete. After the six learned guardians of the gate, Nālandā had no Paṇḍitas for some years, except occasionally, one staying there. Then came Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna; then Mahāvajrāsana was the Paṇḍita for some time; then a certain Kamalakulīśa was the Paṇḍita, then one called Narendraśrījñāna; then Dānarakṣita, then Abhayākara for a long time, then Śubhākaragupta, then Sunayakapaśrī then Dharmākaraśānti, then the great Paṇḍita of Kāśmīra Śākyaśri, and then Vikramaśilā went to ruin.

The 38th chapter—the order of succession of the abbots of Vikramaśilā.

Chapter XXXIX

Propagation of the Teaching in the Eastern Koki-land

East India consists of three parts: Bhaṅgala and Oḍiviśa belonged to Aparāntaka[2] and are called Pūrvāparāntaka or the eastern countries. The northern lands Kāmarūpa, Tipura and Hasama being surrounded by mountains are called Girivarta. Proceeding thence to the east on the side of the northern mountain there are Naṅgata deśa, the Pukhaṃ countries bordering on the ocean, Balku, etc., the Rakhaṅ country, Haṃsavatī, Markolādi, of Mu-ñaṅa country; further off Campā, Kambojādi. All these are generally known as Koki.

In these Koki-lands there existed since the time of king Aśoka, sections of the Saṃgha. In course of time, they increased until they became very many. At the time of Vasubandhu's appearance there were only Śrāvakas. After some disciples of Vasubandhu had

[1] སྒོར་བྱ་ཤིན་ཏུ །

[2] ཉེ་འོག་ལ་གཏོགས་པས །

spread the Mahāyāna teaching, it existed almost uninterruptedly. Many of the disciples resided in Madhyadeśa, when it was under king Dharmapāla. They increased in number at the time of the four Senas. About half of the Saṃgha residing in Magadha came from the Koki-lands. Henceforth, Mahāyāna was propagated very much. The Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna were not so much separated as in the Tibetan regions. Since the time of Abhayākara the Mantrayāna was spread more and more. When Magadha was conquered by the Turuṣkas, the large section of scholars of Madhyadeśa went to that region and the teaching was further propagated there. At this time lived the king Śobhajāta[1] who erected many temples and founded about two hundred seats of learning. King Siṃhajāti, who came after him, brought the excellent teaching into repute even more than before, and the teaching was very much spread in all these lands, and when from time to time the Saṃgha gathered together in great numbers, there were about twenty to thirty thousand Bhikṣus and many Upāsakas. The Paṇḍitas Vanaratna and others, who later on went to Tibet, also came from this region. Later on lived the king Bālasundara. In all these lands, the teachings of Vinaya, Abhidharma and Mahāyāna were very much propagated. With the exception of the Kālacakra and the three Mālā-sections[2] and some others the secret mantras became very rare. He sent about two hundred Paṇḍitas of this region to Khagendra country in the south to Mahāsiddha Śāntigupta[3] and others in order to learn the secret mantra texts and thus he established it again. His son Candravāhana is now in Khaṅ.[4] Atītavāhana ruled Cāgma,[5] Bālavāhana ruled Muñan,[6] Sundarahaci[7] ruled Nangaṭa[8] and the teaching is now very much spread in comparison with the earlier times.

[1] ཤོབ་ཛ་ཏ །

[2] འཕྲེང་བ་སྐོར་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་པ །

[3] གྲུབ་ཆེན་ཞི་བ་སྦས་པ་ལ །

[4] ཁ་ང་ །

[5] ཙག་མ །

[6] མུ་ཉང་ །

[7] སུ་ནྡྡ་ར་ཧ་ཙི །

[8] ནཾག་ཊ །

CHAPTER XL

The form of propagation of the teaching in small islands and the re-propagation of the teaching in the southern countries.

Further in Siṃhaladvīpa, Yavadvīpa, Tāmradvīpa, Suvarṇadvīpa, Dhanaśrīdvīpa, Payigudvīpa—in these small *dvīpas* the teaching was spread from the earliest times and it is very much propagated down to this day. In the Siṃhaladvīpa there are partly the followers of Mahāyāna but mostly they are Śrāvakas. Even now at the time of Śrīpāduka celebration i.e. the festival of the footprint, about 12000 Bhikṣus, mostly Śrāvākas gather together. In Dhanaśrī and Payigu there were also some followers of Mahāyāna, on the other small islands there are the followers of Śrāvaka. On the Dramila[1] island the teaching in earlier times did not exist continually and there it was first established by the Ācārya Padmākara; Dīpaṅkarabhadra also went there. Beginning from there appeared in the course of a hundred years very many Vajradharas out of Magadha, Urgyan[2], Kāśmīra etc., and they very much spread the Mantrayāna. There were also many *tantras* which had disappeared in India because of their being hidden earlier at the time of king Dharmapāla and such as were brought from outside and had never been in India. Now the teaching of the four sections of the secret *mantra-tantras* spread as before; there were also Vinaya, Abhidharma and Pāramitā works in part. In the southern lands of India, in Vidyānagara, Koṅkana, Malyara, Kalinga, etc., since the time when Magadha was conquered by the Turuṣkas, although very great seats of learning were not erected and the number of religieux was not very considerable, the exposition (of texts) and the *sādhana* went on without interruption, and the Paṇḍita called Narāditya[3] lived in a part of Trilinga, called Kalikar.[4] After the teaching had been thus introduced in the south-western kingdom by king Karṇa, and when Magadha was conquered by the Turuṣkas, it was propagated through Jñānākaragupta, etc. in Maru, Mewar, Citavara, Pihuva, Ābu, Saurāṣṭra, Gujrata etc. where many seats of learning were established and

[1] འགྲོ་ལྡིང་གི་གླིང་།

[2] ཨུ་རྒྱན།

[3] མི་ཉི་ཉི་མ་ཨོ་ཏི་ཡན།

[4] ཀ་ལི་དཀར།

there are even now many bhikṣus. In later times especially through the blessings of Mahāsiddharāja Śāntigupta, the teaching was spread afresh in Khagendra and within the Vindhya mountain region. At the time of king Rāmacandra the Saṅgha was very much respected. His son Bālabhadra built many temples, Śrīratnagiri, Jitā, Ojana, Urvaśi, etc. He erected also many seats of learning for all subjects of study. It is said that in this land 2000 new Bhikṣus were found who continuously spread and elevated the explanation of the *Sūtras*, *Mantras*, *Sādhana* and *Nirvāṇa**.

U. N. Ghoshal & N. Dutt

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*Translations of these chapters are being published (after collation with the original Tibetan) on account of their great importance for the history of the later period of Buddhism,—Trs.

MISCELLANY

Cedis

According to ethnographical tradition recorded in the Purāṇas, the central zone of India from Bihar up to Rajputana which lay skirting the banks of the Jumna belonged to the Vāsava kings, a sub-line of the Kaurava dynasty. A Kaurava prince called Vasa conquered Cedi and obtained the title '*caidyo paricara*', the overcomer of the Caidyas'[1]. He also extended his conquests in other directions, and then established each of his five sons in five separate kingdoms. Thus the eldest son Bṛhadratha took Magadha, Pratyagraha repaired to Cedi, Kaśa or Kuśāmba evidently had Kauśāmbi[2]. Lalittha's share was Kārusa, and the fifth one is said to have taken Māthailya or Māruta, which in all probability must be the Matsya realm[3]. This tradition, therefore, links up the Magadhas, Karūṣas, Cedis, Vatsas and Matsyas into one ethnic and political group just as the belt of eastern peoples such as the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Puṇḍras and Suhmas were grouped into another by a similar tradition. From a geographical point of view this position as outlined seems to be quite in order. The Great Epic furnishes a short list of Madhya-deśa janapadas which are described as lying particularly around the Kuru realm :[4]

Santi ramyā janapadā bahvannāḥ paritaḥ kurūna
Pāñcālāś Cedi Matsyāśca Śūrasenāḥ Paṭaccarāḥ
Daśārṇā Navarāṣṭrāśca Mallāḥ Śālvā Yugandharāḥ
Kuntirāṣṭraṁ Suvistirṇaṁ Surāṣṭrāvantayastathā.

This statement presents certain irregularities, for all these tribal janapadas were not situated encircling the Kurus from a regional point of view: Surāṣṭra, Avanti, and Daśārṇa lay far off from the

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[1] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 272. Caidya, as a form of the name is found in an inscription (*IA.*, VIII. 15-16,. Cf. The Cetiya Jātaka, No. 422.

[2] Tradition records the Kuru origin of the kings of Kauśāmbi, for the elder line of Kuru kings moved there when Hastināpura was threatened by the erosion of the Ganges (Roychaudhuri, *Political History*, p. 20 and 38).

[3] Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 118 and 294.

[4] *Mbh.*, IV. I. 11-12.

Kuru realm, only the Śālva, Matsya, Śūrasena and Pañcāla janapadas were situated '*paritaḥ kurūn*'. The Cedi realm did not abut on any point on the Kuru country, the janapadas of Matsya, Śūrasena and Pañcāla had shut out the Cedi country from the plains of Thaneswar and Delhi. But the Cedis were neighbours of the Pañcālas and Matsyas on the north and west respectively, and so the combination *Pāñcālāścedimatsyāśca* of the text cited above which puts the Cedis in close proximity to the Pañcāla and Matsya janapadas agrees well with the geographical setting. Again in the Great Epic the Cedis were invariably coupled with the Matsyas and Karūṣas their neighbours on the west and east respectively. Such combinations as *cedimatsyānāṁ* and *cedimatsya-kāruṣāśca* are often mentioned. Sometimes the Matsyas are omitted and replaced by the Kāśis resulting in groupings like *cedi-kāśī-kāruṣānāṁ* which are by no means rare. The collocation of names indicates that Cedi, Kāśi, Kāruṣa or Cedi, Matsya, Kāruṣa was a compact ethnic group. According to Purāṇic tradition, as noticed before, Cedi, Matsya and Kāruṣa along with Vatsa and Magadha formed one such group.

The Cedis were an ancient people and their country known as Cetiya was a janapada according to the Buddhist *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. From the *Mahābhārata* we learn that the Cedi country lay near the Yamunā. Early Jaina writers know the people as Āriyas and referred to the Cedi capital called Sottiyamai[5]. This Jaina tradition is in agreement with Buddhist tradition, for a Jātaka gives the name of the Cedi (Ceti) only as Sotthivatinagara[6]. The *Mahābhārata* has the form Suktimatī[7].

It appears that the Jain, Buddhist and Epic accounts refer to one and the same place, and indeed Sotthivati has been found to be the same as Śuktimatī,[8] in the epic account. The name was perhaps derived from a river of same name which according to the Great Epic[9] was flowing by the capital of the Cedi-Viṣaya. The river Śuktimatī has been identified with the Ken and so the position of the Cedi capital points unequivocally to Banda or to some place in its neighbourhood[10] near the river Ken. The Cedi country corresponded to the region bounded by the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand on the south and the Valley of Jumna on the north and north-east[11] thus roughly corresponding to the modern Bundelkhand region[12] which lies south-east of the Jumna from its junction with the Chambal[13] In this position the Cedis inhabited the vicinity of the Matsyas[14].

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[5] *IA.*, XX, 375.

[6] No. 422. Cowell's *Jātaka*, III. p. 272.

[7] iii. 20, 50.

[8] De., *Geographical Dictionary*, p. vii.

[9] i. 63. 35.

[10] Pargiter. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 359.

But in the mediaeval period the name was commonly used to designate a still more extensive tract stretching up to the banks of the Narmada on the south.[15] The mediaeval capital of Cedi-maṇḍala[16] was Tripurī[17], (purīṁ Tripurīṁ)[18] which was the same as Tewar[19], a village about 6 miles close to the Narmada[20] to the west of Jubbalpore (C.P.). The Amoda plates of the Haihaya kings Pṛthvideva I states that Kōkkala who became the lord of Cedi raided Karṇāṭa, Vaṅga etc., and made his eldest son the king of Tripurī[21]. In the *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* we have again a reference to the city: Tripurī Cedīnagarī[22]. The people of Tripurī are mentioned in Purāṇic list as Tripuras as a people of the south-eastern division. The earliest reference to the people is perhaps to be found in same coins bearing the name Tripurī in Brāhmī characters of the 'late third or early second century B.C.' which go to prove the antiquity of the people. The coins are attributed to the ancient Tripurī on the Narbada, the capital of the Kalacuri dynasty[23]. The *Padma Purāṇa* describes the glory of the place where Mahādeva is said to have killed Tripurāsura.[24]

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[11] Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* p. 359.

[12] Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures,* p. 52.

[13] *Imperial Gazetteer,* IX, p. 68.

[14] In one Jātaka (No. 547, *CJ.,* VI, p. 266) we read that a group of people left Jetuttara at breakfast time and in the evening came to the kingdom of Ceta. Jetuttara has been identified with Nāgarī.

[15] Roychaudhuri, *Political History,* p. 109.

[16] *EI.,* I. p. 50, v. 8.

[17] *Archæological Survey of India,* Annual Report, IX p. 98.

[18] *EI.,* II, p. 3, v. 6.

[19] In the Bilhari stone inscription of the rulers of Cedi, Tewer is mentioned as Tripurī (*EI.,* I. pp. 251-270, vs. 83-4).

[20] A verse of Harivaṁśa places Tripurī near the Narmadā (v. 1983).

[21] *EI.,* XIX, pp. 75-77.

[22] *Abhidhāna,* p. 389. Hemacandra considered Cedīnagara as but another name of Tripurī which shows that in his time Tripurī passed off as Cedi.

[23] *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India,* by Allan, p. cxl-cxli. Tripuri is commonly used as the name of a city but at one time it might have extended beyond the Narmada as far as the Maikāla Range (*Mbh.,* vi. 84. 9).

But mediaeval inscriptions refer to another territorial name called Dāhala-maṇḍala[25] the capital of which according to Alberuni was Tiaurī[26] i.e., Tewar. An inscription of A.D. 1038 connects Dāhala with Piawan a small valley, 25 miles to the north-east of Rewa[27]. Another inscription of a Dāhālīya-mahārājā has been found in Alha-Ghāt in Rewa[28]. In a different epigraph Dāhala-maṇḍala is described as situated between the Bhāgīrathī and the Narmada[29]. All these show that Dāhala-maṇḍala corresponded to the Baghelkhand Jubbulpore regions, extending down to the source of the Narmada on the south. The chief city was Tripurī, but mention is also made of Saubhāgyapura[30] which is the modern Sohagpur in the Rewa State. Modern Mandla, head-quarters of the district of the same name, 60 miles south-east of Jubbulpore was perhaps another city of this region. It was the Maṇḍalai of Ptolemy[31] and was a place of considerable antiquity. The old town of Maṇḍala was also called Maheshmatipura derived from Mahesa-maṇḍala.[32] The *Padma Purāṇa* has a reference to the place: *Narmadātaṭamāsthitaḥ nāmā Maheśvaraṁsthānam*.[33] The modern Maṇḍalā also stands 'in a loop of the river Narbada, which surrounds it on three sides.[34] Cunningham thinks that it was the original capital of the Upper Narbada Valley and afterwards supplanted by Tripurī.

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[24] Svarga, ch. 7.

[25] *EI.*, V, p. 16, lines 7-8. For various forms of the name see vol. II, p. 772, fn. 1.

[26] *AI.*, I, p. 202, The *Rāsa Mālā* also refers to Tipera and the Dāhul (vol. II, p. 777).

[27] *Archæological Survey*, op. cit., Vol. XXI, pp. 112-13. The inscription refers to Srimad Gāngeya Deva who is also mentioned by Rihān as Gāngec, of Dāhal whose capital was Piturī a mistaken form of Tripurī.

[28] *IA.*, XVIII, pp. 213-214, lines 1-2.

[29] *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. II, p. 763. A South-Indian inscription of SS. 1183 refers to Dāhala as lying between the Ganges and the Narmada (*JAHRS.*, IV, p. 152).

[30] The Bilhari stone inscription, *EI.*, I, pp. 251-270.

[31] McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 168.

[32] Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 559-60.

[33] Svarga, 7. 39.

[34] *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 170.

It thus follows that excepting the Baghelkhand region, the Dāhalamaṇḍala was conterminous with the ancient Cedi janapada which was again synonymous with Tripurī. But it seems that in the mediaeval period these names were occasionally treated as convertible, for Hemachandra writes: *Traipurāstu Dāhalāḥ syuścaidyāste Cedayaśca.*[35]

The Cedi country was quite well-known in ancient times. A Jātaka states that it was rich in food and drink and was prosperous and strong.[36] In the Great Epic the Cedi country is described as *prabhūta dhanadhānyavān*[37] and also as:

> *Arthavāneṣ deśo-hi-dhanaratnādibhiryuktaḥ*
> *Vasupūrṇā ca Vasudhā Vasa Cediṣu Cedivān.*[38]

The Cedis are given unstinted praise. They were righteous, honest, cheerful and were not used to speak a lie even for the sake of a joke. They were loyal sons, devoted fathers and faithful pupils. They were fully sensible of the sufferings of the old and decrepit animals, particularly of cows.[39]

S. B. CHAUDHURI

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[35] *Abhidhāna*, p. 381. See also *Trikāṇḍaśesa*, p. 31.

[36] No. 547, Cowell, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 266.

[37] i, 63. 8.

[38] i, 63. 9.

[39] *Ibid.*, vs. 10 ff.

Śākta festivals of Bengal and their Antiquity

Feasts and festivities pertaining to various deities abound in different parts of India and contain interesting materials for scholarly investigation. A comprehensive account of the rites practised in different parts of the country will throw much light on the growth and development of popular Hinduism as known to-day.

The present paper is confined to the Śākta festivals of Bengal[1]—festivals relating to different forms of Śākti—the Mother Goddess, the consort of Śiva[2]. It is rather curious that the festivals are not referred to in the well-known Tantra digests and valuable handbooks for Tantra-worshippers like the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda or the *Śyāmārahasya* of Pūrṇānanda which describe in detail the procedure to be followed in the worship of numerous Tantric deities. Absence of any reference to most of these festivals in the Smṛti digests of Raghunandana and Govindānanda which contain lists of feasts and festivities observed by an ordinary householder may, however, be explained by the fact that these works deal generally with non-Tantric matters. But the festivals—at least all of them—need not be supposed to be of a recent origin unknown to the authors mentioned above. Some of them are found to have been referred to even by their distinguished predecessors like Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi, preceptor of Raghunandana and author of the *Kṛtyatattvārṇava* and Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, author of *Smṛtiratnahāra*. It is thus clear that some of the festivities are fairly old going back to the 15th century of the Christian era, if not earlier.

Of the different forms of Śakti known and worshipped in Bengal Kālī is perhaps the most important. Among the Śāktas the Kālī-worshippers far outnumber the worshippers of other deities like Tārā, Ṣoḍaśī etc. Besides, festivities in connection with the worship of Tārā or Ṣoḍaśī are comparatively rare. Festive worship of Kālī, however, is performed on many occasions, especially during times of calamity like the outbreak of epidemics and times of rejoicing and thanksgiving as also on particular days of the year *e.g.*, the Dewali day, the *ratantī caturdaśī* day and the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyaiṣṭha. Of these the Dewali festival is the most popular, though, perhaps, not the oldest. Kālī is worshipped on this day with great pomp and grandeur. No reference to this festival has been traced in any old work. The oldest reference that I have been able to trace is in the *Kālīsaparyāvidhi* of Kāśīnātha who composed it in 1699 Ś.E. Kāśīnātha has quoted texts from Purāṇas and Tantras to prove the importance of the worship of Kālī on the Dewali day.[3] Kāśīnātha's advocacy in the matter would appear to be rather suspicious. It may not be unlikely that he was prompted by a desire to popularise a festival which does not seem to have been so widely prevalent in his time. Attempts are reported to have been made by others also for this purpose. Thus we are told that Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia ordered all his subjects to perform this worship with threats of severe punishment[4]. As a result, ten thousand images of the goddess came to be worshipped on this occasion every year in the district of Nadia. Īśānacandra, grandson of Kṛṣṇacandra, consecrated to this deity thousands of maunds of sweet-meats, thousands of pieces of cloth and huge quantities of other materials. Besides this, his incidental expenses in this connection amounted to about twenty thousand rupees a year.

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[1] Elsewhere I have given accounts of a number of folk cults of Bengal (*IHQ.*, IX, 237-43, *JASB.*, 1930, 379-88, 1935, 429 ff.)

[2] This paper is not concerned with festivities relating to famous deities who are not regarded as consorts of Śiva, e.g., Ṣaṣṭhī (the goddess who looks after the welfare of children), Śitalā (the goddess of small pox), Manasā (goddess of serpents), Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī (consorts of Viṣṇu).

The worship of Kālī on the *ratantī caturdaśī* day (14th day of the dark fortnight of Māgha) has been mentioned as one of the rites to be performed on the day. The pertinent text in this connection is the *Smṛtisamuccaya* and is quoted by Govindānanda, Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi, Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa and Kāśīnātha Tarkālaṅkāra[5].

The most important and biggest of the festivals in connection with Śakti worship is of course the Durgāpūjā which is performed twice a year, *e.g.*, in the months of Āśvina and Caitra. In some form or other it is popular all over India in the month of Āśvina. It is a fairly old festival and is mentioned in all old Smṛti digests of Bengal. The Caitra worship, however, is not referred to by Bṛhaspati and Śrīnātha.

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[3] Ms. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, fol. 94A.

[4] Ward—*A view of the history, literature and mythology of the Hindoos*, vol. II, p. 124.

[5] मकरावस्थिते भानौ या तु कृष्णा चतुर्दशी ।
तत्रादौ कालिका पूज्या सर्वविघ्नोपशान्तये ॥
—*Varṣakriyākaumudī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 497.

The Jagaddhātrīpūjā or the festive worship of the mother of the world is performed on the ninth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārtika. It has been referred to both by Śrīnātha and Bṛhaspati of the 15th century[6], though it is popularly supposed that the festival was introduced in the middle of the 19th century by one Candracūḍa Tarkacūḍāmaṇi of the court of Giriśacandra, great grandson of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia where the festival is still the most important and popular one performed on a grand scale.

The festive worship of Annapūrṇā, the giver of food, falls on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra. The occasion is not known to have been specially mentioned by name in any of the old digests. But Govindānanda has quoted an extract from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* prescribing the worship of Durgā on this day[7] while an extract from the *Devīpurāṇa* quoted by him along with Śrīnātha and Bṛhaspati[8] eulogises the worship of Mahiṣamardinī on the following day, *e.g.*, the ninth day of the bright half of Caitra. It is significant that the spring-time worship of the goddess lasting for three days (*Vāsantī pūjā*) is not mentioned by any of these authors and the reference made may be to an one-day festival of the type of the

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[6] कार्तिकामलपक्षस्य नवमी भूतिसिद्धये ।
प्रबुद्धां तु जगद्धात्रीं पूजयेद्दीपमालया ॥
मामैश्चतुर्भिर्यत् पुण्यं विधिना पूज्य चण्डिकाम् ।
तत् फलं प्राप्यते वीर नवम्यां कार्तिकस्य तु ॥
— Mss of their works in the *RASB*.

[7] मिताष्टम्यान्तु चैत्रस्य पुष्पैस्तत्कालसम्भवैः ।
अशोकैरपि यो दुर्गां मन्त्रेणानेन पूजयेत् ॥
……………………………………………
न तस्य जायते शोको रोगो वाप्यथ दुर्गतिः ॥
—*Varṣakriyākaumudī* (Bib. Ind.), p. 523.

[8] नवम्यां पूजयेद्देवीं महिषासुरमर्दिनीम् ।
कुङ्कुमागुरुकर्पूरधूपदीपान्नमोदकैः ॥
—*Ibid.* and Mss of the works of Śrīnātha and Bṛhaspati in *RASB*

Annapūrṇāpūjā of to-day. It may be noted that it is learnt from the work of Ward, already referred to, that the worship was prevalent in some parts of the country in the 19th century.

Another very important and popular festival is the *Ambuvācī* when worship is offered at all centres of Śakti worship, especially at Kāmākhyā in Assam where there is a huge gathering of people on this occasion. Originally a harvest festival it has now taken the form of a Śākta festival, specially observed by all Hindu widows of Bengal irrespective of caste and creed and a few among strictly orthodox Brahmins who refrain from taking any cooked food during the period or part of it. It is mentioned in old Smṛti digests which only taboo the digging of the earth and the sowing of seeds on the occasion as the earth is supposed to be in her menses at the time. The festival is immensely popular in Bengal, Assam and Orissa where it is known as *raja*. In Bengal and Assam it is observed in the beginning of the second week of the solar month of Āṣāḍha while in Orissa on the closing days of Jyaiṣṭha.

Festive worship of Maṅgalacaṇḍī (Caṇḍī the auspicious) stories of whose glories are described by many a medieval Bengali poet in *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* poems may be traced to Govindānanda and Raghunandana.[9] Modest festivals are held in honour of this deity specially on Tuesdays when the women-folk observe *vratas* and listen to stories of her glory. The stories are also sung on occasions by professional parties with great pomp and ado in the presence of large numbers of people assembled from far and near.

The festivals referred to above are all of all-Bengal popularity, the observance of a few even extending beyond the limits of Bengal. But there are many more confined to different parts of the province but none the less important in point of solemnity and grandeur. A description of or a reference to a number of these festivals as current in early 19th century is found in the work of Ward and in the *Saṃvāda patre sekāler kathā* or Excerpts from Old Bengali Newspapers compiled by Sri B. N. Banerji and published by the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad of Calcutta. A few of the festivals have not lost their popularity even to-day while many of them are little-known at the present day. Whatever be their present position the festivals go back to the end of the 18th century if not earlier, though no special Śāstric sanction is available for them. A list of the more important of such festivals as mentioned in these works is given below.

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[9] *Varṣakriyākaumudī* (Bib. Ind.)—p. 552 ff. *Tithitattva* of Raghunandana—Section on Aṣṭamī.

Pūjā of Vindhyavāsinī and Rājarājeśvarī during three days beginning from the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha.

Pūjā of Yogādyā on the Saṅkrānti day of the month of Vaiśākha.

Pūjā of Kamale Kāminī on the 8th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

Pūjā of Kṛṣṇakroḍā,· Jagadgaurī and Vagalāmukhī during three days beginning from the seventh day of the bright half of Māgha.

Pūjā of Muktakeśī on the 14th day of the dark half of Māgha.

Pūjā of Gaṇeśajananī during three days beginning from the seventh day of the bright half of Phālguna.

Pūjā of Caṇḍī on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha.

Pūjā of Mātaṅgī and Brahmāṇī in the month of Śrāvaṇa.

It is recorded that an amount of more than fifty thousand rupees was spent on one occasion in village Guptipārā in connection with the festival of Gaṇeśajananī. There was a good deal of festivity in connection with the worship of Mātaṅgī in village Vaidyavāṭī in the month of Śrāvaṇa 1228 B.S.

It may be noted that the names of most of the deities mentioned above are not met with in any authoritative Śāstric text. Some of them (e.g., Kamale Kāminī and Yogādyā) are met with in medieval Bengali literature. In this connection reference may be made to some other little-known Śakti deities worshipped in Bengal. Of these Pratyaṅgirā is mentioned in the Tantras. Viśālākṣī was the tutelary deity of the Vaiṣṇava poet Caṇḍīdāsa. An earthen image of the deity consecrated in village Senhati in Burdwan has been noticed by Ward. The worship of Raṅkiṇī was at one time prevalent in parts of Bengal. Human sacrifices were made to propitiate the deity. Places specially sanctified by temples or images of the deity are mentioned in medieval Bengali texts. Festivities in honour of the deity are still performed in Brajalal Chak Maljhangadh village in Midnapur and Raṅkiṇimahula village in the district of Burdwan.

Numerous other local festivals are also known though nothing can be stated about their antiquity or otherwise. Of these reference may be made to festivities in connection with the worship of Tārā and Ṣoḍasī or Tripurāsundarī. There is a temple of Tārā in the village of Sikarpur in the district of Barisal where festive worship is performed and pilgrims gather on the Śivacaturdaśī day as well as on the occasion of the autumnal Durgāpūjā and the Holi. Festive worship and *mela* in honour of the deity are held on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in village Caṇḍipur in the district of Birbhum. A few temples or places of public worship of Tripurāsundarī are known. One is in village Radhakisorpur in Tipperah where a *mela* is held in the month of Pauṣa and another in Chạtrabhoga in the district of Twenty Four Parganas where there is a good gathering of pilgrims on the Snānayātrā day (full-moon day in the month of Jyaiṣṭha). An annual festive worship of the deity is performed for three days beginning from the third day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in village Boral in the latter district. Very big images of various Śakti deities are worshipped with great festivity in Nabadwip on the *rāsayātrā* or the full-moon day of the month of Kārtika. The day is popularly known as the Paṭapūrṇimā day. It is believed that the Śakti deities were worshipped to spite the Vaiṣṇavas and minimise their *rāsayātrā* festival which, it may be noted incidentally, is not very old and is not mentioned in the famous digest of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal the *Haribhaktivilāsa*.

The Pariśiṣṭa section of the *Śabda-Kalpadruma* under the word *yātrā* quotes an extract stated to belong to chapter 54 of the *Vāmakeśvaratantra* which gives a list of sixteen festivals of the goddess which includes ambūvācī, autumnal pūjā, dīpayātrā (possibly Dewali), ratanti and nīlayātrā presumably the worship of Nīlacaṇḍikā performed on the occasion of the Caḍakapūjā (*JASB.*, 1935, p. 434).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Archiv Orientalni, vol. XVIII, no. 4

V. Porizka.—*Hindi Participles used as Substantives.*

M. Scheller.—*Ein weiterer Beleg für Accusatives cum Infinitivo im Sanskrit?*

M. Mayrhofer.—*Neue Literatur Zu den Substraten im Altindischen.*

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. XV, part 2

C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar.—*Temples as Centres of Indian Artistic Life.* Temples of India, particularly in the south, have contributed to the development of various forms of art-poetry, music, dance and drama.

P. K. Gode.—*Vidyāvilāsa, a Commentary on the Siddhāntakaumudī, by Śivarāma Tripāṭhin (Between A.D. 1700 and 1775).*

K. Madhava Krishna Sarma.—*Prahasanas of Harijīvanamiśra and Grahaṇasūci.* Harijīvanamiśra, a contemporary of Mahārāja Rāmasiṃha of Jaypur wrote six Sanskrit dramas of the Prahasana type—*Adbhutataraṅga, Palāṇḍuprahasana, Ghṛtakulyāvali, Sahṛdayānanda, Vibudhamohana* and *Prāsaṅgika.* A picture of the contemporary society as regards scholarship, priesthood, food-habits, morality etc. is reflected in them. Manuscripts of these works deposited in the Anup Sanskrit Library are briefly described here. The same Library also possesses a manuscript entitled *Grahaṇasūci* containing a list of eclipses, both lunar and solar, from Saṃvat 1653 Caitra to Saṃvat 1726 Phālguna (A.D. 1596-1670).

H. G. Narahari.—*A Rare Commentary on the Rasamañjarī of Bhānudatta.* The manuscript (64 folia) described in the Note is a commentary, called *Sudhā* by Ḍattātreya.

Serial Publications:

Idea of Personality.
Āṅgirasasmṛti.
Vedāntakārikāvalī of Veṅkaṭācārya.

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Vṛttaratnāvalī with English Translation.
Mānamālā of Acyutakṛṣṇānandatīrtha.

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, vol. XI, no. 1

H. D. SANKALIA.—*A Terracotta Figurine of Brahma.*

M. G. DIKSHIT.—*Excavations at Rangpur*: 1947.

H. D. SANKALIA, B. SUBBA RAO, R. V. JOSHI.—*Studies in the Prehistory of Karṇāṭaka.*

A. V. NAIK.—*Cult Characteristics of the Hindu Temples of the Deccan.* This study on the architecture of the temples of the Deccan analyses the general characteristics noticeable in them, and points out the special features of different sectarian temples belonging to the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Brāhmas, Sauras and such other sects.

G. S. GAI.—*On Kaṇḍāriūṇa.* In the *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara is found the expression *kaṇḍāriūṇa* to mean 'by carving, sculpturing, i.e. giving nicer touches.' Evidence from literature and inscriptions show that the word is of Kannaḍa origin.

Ceylon Historical Journal, vol. I, no. 1 (July 1951)

O. H. de A. WIJESEKERA.—*Sanskrit Civilization among the Ancient Sinhalese.* The most important single factor that influenced the Sinhalese civilization from the pre-Buddhistic period is considered to have been the Brāhmaṇic Aryanism and its vast literature. The evidence of linguistic development, religious conception, administrative methods and economic endeavours suggest close cultural contacts between the people of Siṃhala and India in ancient times, which fact is supported by genuine historical data. The Sanskrit tradition has continued in the literary, artistic and scientific spheres of the Siṃhalese life.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 71, no. 1

D. D. KOSAMBI.—*Pravarasaṃgraha Figures for the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata.*

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*Legal Position of Prostitutes according to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. XVIII, pt. IV

T. G. Aravamuthan.—*Gaṇeśa: Clue to a Cult and Culture.*

V. Raghavan.—*Sobriquets in Sanskrit.* A special epithet or a nickname is sometimes given to an author on account of a striking expression used or a charming fancy conceived by him. Fifty-five Sanskrit authors with nicknames are mentioned in the paper.

Shiv Nath Shastri.—*Śaktism and Tantras.*

U. Venkatakrishna Rao.—*'Prāsa' in Bhāsa.* Alliterations in the dramas of Bhāsa are discussed.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, vol. XXII, parts 1 & 2

Moti Chandra.—*The Artistic Influence.* (A chapter from A. Foucher's work *Le Vielle Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* translated into English). The art tradition of Gandhāra travelled to Central Asia from India through the Hindukush.

V. S. Agrawala.—*Indian Historical Studies: Some Problems.*

Moti Chandra.—*Architectural Data in Jaina Canonical Literature.*

V. S. Agrawala.—*Art Evidence in Kālidāsa.*

K. V. Ramachandran.—*Kālidāsa and Music.*

Vasudeva S. Agrawala.—*A Catalogue of the Images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in Mathurā Art.*

V. S. Agrawala.—*Karmadeśvara Temple at Kandwa, Banaras.*

—.—*A Jaina Cloth Painting or Chitrapaṭa of Taruṇaprabha Sūrī.*

Agar Chand Nahta.—आचार्यप्रवर तरुणप्रभसूरि. This paper in Hindi deals with the life and work of Taruṇaprabha Sūri, a Jaina teacher of the 14th century.

Sammelan Patrika (Hindi), 37, 2

S. Bihari Lal.—हिन्दो में वैदिक साहित्य (*Publications on Vedic Subjects in Hindi*).

Sriram Sharma.—दक्षिणापथ की भाषाओं मे क्या लिया जाय (*What can be gathered from the South Indian Languages*). The history of the early development of Bhakti as a religious force can be known from the literature of South India, specially from the Tamil compositions.

Sino-Indian Studies, vol. IV, pt. 1 (1951).

HSU HU.—*Buddhist Temples in China.*

W. PASCHOW.—*A Comparative Study of Prātimokṣa.*

N. AIYASWAMI SHASTRI.—*Nāgārjuna and the Satkāryavāda of the Sāṅkhyas.*

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HACKER PAUL.—*Eigentümlichkeiten der Lehre und Terminologie Śaṅkaras: Avidyā, Nāmarūpa, Māyā, Īśvara.*

WALTER RUBEN.—*Vier Liebestragödien des Rāmāyaṇa.*

LUDWIG ALSDORF.—*Pañcatantra-Miszellen.*

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Some Chronological Considerations about Pāṇini's Date

Our study of the material presented in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, especially its geographical and cultural data, its glimpses of social life and religious institutions, helps us to a certain extent to determine its chronology.

Views of earlier Writers

The question of Pāṇini's date has been discussed by many previous writers with different conclusions. Goldstücker in his well-known work on Pāṇini held that Pāṇini must have lived in the seventh century before the Christian era at the latest. He rightly observed: '*the investigation of the relative position which Pāṇini holds in ancient Sanskrit literature is more likely to lead to a solid result, than speculations as to the real date of his life*' (*Pāṇini, His Place*, p. 67). His position was that Pāṇini lived after Yāska and before the Buddha. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar held the same view mainly on the ground that Pāṇini does not show acquaintance with South India. Pathak assigns him to the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. just before the appearance of Mahāvīra, the senior contemporary of Gautama Buddha.' (*ABORI*., XI., p. 83). D. R. Bhandarkar proposed seventh century B.C. in his 1918 *Carmichael Lectures* (p. 141), which he later changed to about the middle of sixth century B.C. (*AIN*., 1921, p. 46). Charpentier thinks that the date should be 550 B. C. (*JRAS*., 1913, pp. 672-74). He repeated his view later: "As for the date of Pāṇini I have suggested, some time ago, that it should be placed somewhere about 500 B.C. and I feel more and more convinced that such a suggestion is mainly correct." (*JRAS.*, 1928, p. 345). H. C. Raychaudhury holds: 'In all probability Pāṇini lived after the Persian conquest of Gandhāra in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., but before the fourth century B.C. With a date in the fifth century B.C. all the evidence accommodates itself.'' (*Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, 1936, p. 30). Grierson believed that a century or 150 years at the most elapsed between Pāṇini and the Aśokān inscriptions, which represent the spoken dialect of the day. This would place Pāṇini about 400 B.C. Macdonell's latest view (*India's Past*) was that Pāṇini did not live later than 500 B.C. Böhtlingk, however, made Pāṇini more modern by dating him to about 350 B.C. Weber placed him subsequent to Alexander's invasion. It is unfortunate that a scholar of his depth and mastery over grammatical intricacies should have permitted a grievous misunderstanding of the *kārikā* on sūtra IV.2.45 about Āpiśali and Kṣudraka-Mālavas to vitiate his argument about the date of Āpiśali and Pāṇini (*HIL.*, p. 222). Liebich's opinion on this point was that we had not yet sufficient ground to come to a definite conclusion, but that in all probability Pāṇini came after the Buddha and before the commencement of the Christian era, and that he was nearer the earlier than the later limit. It would appear from the above that the range of Pāṇini's time is limited to three centuries between seventh and fourth century B.C. We may now try to ascertain this date more precisely within these two limits on the basis of the relevant data.

Literary Evidences

As Liebich has summed up, the literary evidence of Goldstücker leads to the following result: the *Āraṇyakas*, *Upaniṣads*, *Prātiśākhyas*, *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Atharvaveda*, and the six philosophical systems were unknown to Pāṇini, but he knew the *Ṛgveda*, *Sāmaveda* and *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*. He holds that Pāṇini lived after Yāska. This argument is not quite tenable. Thieme from his critical study of Pāṇini's Vedic material has shown that the Vedic texts undoubtedly used by Pāṇini included the RV., MS., KS., TS., AV., and most probably the SV. (Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, p. 63), and further opines that Śākalya's Padapāṭha of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Paippalāda Śākhā* of the *Atharvaveda* were also known to him.

But apart from the Vedic texts that were before Pāṇini, the data of chronology will have to be derived from other texts referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and also from the stages of literary and linguistic evolution in the course of which Pāṇini's own work came into being. As shown above the process of literary evolution in the Vedic *Caraṇas* had already brought into being such later types as Kalpa and Dharma Sūtras. It also witnessed the development outside the *Caraṇas* of such Vedāṅga literature as Vyākaraṇa, with its special commentaries on nouns and verbs (*Nāmika* and *Akhyātika*). Pāṇini also knows of the *Mahābhārata* (referred to for the first time in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*), and its leading characters such as Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira, the first two of whom were deified. Further, he refers to still later literary types, such as *ślokas* and their authors the *ślokakāras*, to secular subjects like *Naṭasūtras*. and even to classical Sanskrit works such as *Śiśukrandīya*, *Yama-sabhīya*, and *Indra-jananīya*, which were the earliest examples of classical poetry and were known only to Pāṇini. It may thus be assumed that Pāṇini lived to see the rise of classical Sanskrit and *sūtras* and *ślokas* flourishing together. It is also to be noted that the *sūtra* style of Pāṇini represents a more advanced stage of development than that represented in some of the Dharma and Gṛhyasūtras. In Pāṇini the *sūtra* style attains its perfect form (*pratiṣṇātam sūtram*, as he himself calls it), and is codified as a model.

These data call for a reconsideration of Goldstücker's view about the earlier date of Pāṇini.

Pāṇini and the South

The argument that Pāṇini does not know South India should not be pressed too far for an early dating of Pāṇini. First, Yāska, whom even Goldstücker considers prior to Pāṇini, shows acquaintance with the southern social customs and grammatical usages. As pointed out by Keith, Yāska "already mentions a southern use of the Vedic word *vijāmātṛ* for a son-in-law who pays to his father-in-law the price of the bride (*vijāmāteti śaśvad Dākṣiṇājāḥ kṛtāpatim ācakṣate*, *Nirukta*, VI. 9; Keith, *Hist. of Sans. Lit.*, p. 15). Secondly, the Deccan was a home of Sanskrit as early as the time of Kātyāyana whom Patañjali regards, as a southerner on account of his grammatical leanings towards the use of Taddhita (cf. *priya-taddhitāḥ Dākṣiṇātyāḥ*). Kātyāyana is not far removed in time from Pāṇini. According to Eggeling: 'As regards the dates of Kātyāyana and Patañjali I accept with Professor Bühler and others, as by far the most probable the fourth and the middle of the second century B.C., respectively (*SB*. Intro.). Thirdly, Pāṇini besides referring to the sea and islands lying near the coast and in the ocean, actually mentions the portion of the country lying between the tropics as *antarayana deśa* (VIII.4.25) which can only refer to the Deccan lying south of the Tropic of Cancer, which passes through Kaccha and Avanti, referred to in the *sūtras*. Pāṇini also knows of Aśmaka on the Godāvarī (modern *Paiṭhāṇa*) which was south of Avanti. He also refers to Kaliṅga on the eastern coast which also lay within the tropics. We thus see that Pāṇini's ignorance of the south is not quite such as assumed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.

Pāṇini and Maskarī

It has been shown above that Pāṇini's reference to Maskarī Parivrājaka in the light of Patanjali's explanation of his name connected with the Karmāpavāda doctrine, points to the philosopher Maṅkhali Gosāla, whose philosophy of Determinism, *Daiṣṭika Mati*, is also mentioned by Pāṇini. Dr. Hoernle holds that Gosāla lived about 500 B.C. (Ājivikas, Hasting's *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, I. 259 seq.). According to the *Bhagvatī sūtra* Gosāla founded his order at Sāvatthi sixteen years before his death. Charpentier agreeing generally with Hoernle thinks that the date of Maṅkhali's decease should be moved a little later (*JRAS*., 1913, p. 674). This suggests the upper limit of Pāṇini's time at about 500 B.C.

Pāṇini and Buddhism

This fact of Maṅkhali Gosāla being a contemporary of the Buddha and also known to Pāṇini helps us to understand some of the *sūtras* using some terms suggested by Buddhism, *e.g. Nirvāṇa* (VIII. 2. 50.); *Kumārī-Śramaṇā* (maiden nuns, II. 1. 70.); *cīvarayate* in the sense of 'donning the monk's robe' as explained by the *Kāśikā* (*saṁcīvarayate bhikṣuḥ*, III. 1. 20); and *Nikāya*, a religious *Saṁgha* which knew of no social distinctions of high and low (*auttarādharya*) and was based upon equality and brotherhood, and was known to be a Buddhist institution.

Śraviṣṭhā as the First Nakṣatra

In a list of ten *nakṣatras* in *sūtra* IV. 3. 34, Pāṇini puts Śraviṣṭhā as the first. Although the other stars in the *sūtra* are not strictly in the order of the ecliptic, the commencement of the list with Śraviṣṭhā appears to have some reason for it. Śraviṣṭhā was the first star in the calendar of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa which must have been compiled during the period when other Vedāṅga works including Vyākaraṇa were also written. As the subject is full of technical difficulties it would be safer to go by the opinion of experts in the matter. The relative positions of the *nakṣatra* lists together with their significance is stated by G. R. Kaye as follows: 'The early lists all begin with Kṛttikā, but the *Mahābhārata* puts Śravaṇa first. The Jyotiṣa Vedāṅga begins with Śraviṣṭhā; the *Sūryaprajñapti* with Abhijit, the *Sūrya Siddhānta* with Aśvinī. But here Aśvinī is definitely equated with the vernal equinox while Abhijit, Śravaṇa and Śrāviṣṭhā, which are contiguous, are equated with the winter solstice..., (The Nakṣatras and Precession, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 50, p. 47).

According to Tilak, as quoted by Kaye, it was stated by Garga that Kṛttikā was first for purposes of ritual, while for the purpose of the calendar Śraviṣṭhā was put first, the same as we find in Pāṇini's list. Leaving aside the question of the Kṛttikās standing at the head of the asterisms and the possible basis of this phenomenon in the coincidence of the vernal equinox with Kṛttikās at a certain epoch connected more properly with Vedic chronology, we must consider the implications of the reference to Śraviṣṭhā as the first of the Nakṣatras. The generally accepted theory is that the Nakṣatras were 27 or 28 constellations that roughly mapped out the ecliptic. The winter solstice was at the first point of the Dhaniṣṭhā in the period of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa when Dhaniṣṭhā was put first. Later on it travelled to the preceding Nakṣatra Śravaṇa, and at the time when this happened the asterism Śravaṇa was reckoned as the first in the calendar.

It is the latter phenomenon, *viz.* the recording of the Nakṣatra Śrāvaṇa at the head of the list that is definitely alluded to in a passage of the *Mahābhārata* of considerable historical interest. Fleet discussed the epic evidence, *Śravaṇādīni ṛikṣāṇi* (the Nakṣatras begin with Śrāvaṇa, *Aśvamedhaparva*, 44. 2) to show that 'the winter solstice had travelled westwards from the first point of Śraviṣṭhā (Dhaniṣṭhā) where it was placed by the astronomy which was preserved in the Jyotiṣa-Vedāṅga, and was in the preceding Nakṣatra Śravaṇa *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 570). Prof. Keith carrying the discussion further admitted the correctness of Fleet's view and pointed out that the passage had been much earlier discussed by Hopkins with the same result in the *JAOS.* for 1903 (*JRAS.*, 1917, p. 133). It is interesting that a passage in the *Vanaparva* refers to the Dhaniṣṭhādi reckoning of the stars (*Vanaparva*, 230. 10). The important question to be discussed in this connection is the determining of the time when the transition of the winter solstice from Dhaniṣṭhā to Śrāvaṇa took place. This would naturally mark the lower limit of Pāṇini's date, since in his enumeration of stars (IV. 3. 34) he puts Dhaniṣṭhā at the head of the list. It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Mahābhārata* attributes to Viśvāmitra the new arrangement of asterisms by substituting Śravaṇa for Dhaniṣṭhā. Prof. Keith takes Viśvāmitra as an astronomical reformer in putting Śravaṇa at the beginning of the asterisms in place of Dhaniṣṭhā (*JRAS.*, 1917, p. 39).

Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray has investigated the time of the transition of the winter solstice from the first point of the Dhaniṣṭhā to the star Śravaṇa on the basis of astronomical calculations in his paper entitled 'The First Point of Aśvinī' (1934). His conclusion is that the Nakṣatra Śraviṣṭhā is the star *Beta Delphini*, and that it was in the fourteenth century B.C., or in the year B.C. 1372 when the sun, the moon and the star Śraviṣṭhā were in conjunction at the time of the winter solstice, and since one Nakṣatra period changing at the rate of about one degree in 70 years takes somewhat less than a thousand years (about 933 years), it was at the fifth century B.C. that Śravaṇa occupied a position in relation to the winter solstice similar to that occupied by the Śraviṣṭhā previously. Counting from B.C. 1372, the precession amounted to one Nakṣatra-space in B.C. 405, and the nearest year in which new moon happened on the day of the winter solstice was 401 B.C. At this time Śravaṇa was observed as the star of the winter solstice and recorded by astronomers as being the first in the list of Nakṣatras, a fact implied in the statement of the *Mahābhārata* cited above (*Śrāvaṇādīni ṛkṣaṇi*) and interpreted in this light by Fleet, Keith and others. In case the date 401 B.C. represents the year of Śravaṇa Nakṣatra coinciding with the winter solstice, the literature and authors referring to Śraviṣṭhā as the first of the Nakṣatras must be placed anterior to this date. This with reference to the question of Pāṇini's date gives a reliable basis to fix the lower limit of his date at about 400 B.C. The upper limit as stated already may be *circa* 500 B.C. from the date of Makkhali Gosāla referred to by Pāṇini as Maskarī.

The Nanda Tradition

There is a strong tradition preserved in both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical literature that Pāṇini was a contemporary of some Nanda king. Tāranātha, in his history of Buddhism compiled from older sources (1608 A.D.) states that Pāṇini lived in the time of a Nanda king. Somadeva (1063-1081) in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and Kṣemendra in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (11th century) also associate Pāṇini with king Nanda and his capital Pāṭaliputra. The newly discovered *Manjuśrī Mūlakalpa*, which Jayaswal placed roughly at about 800 A.D., confirms the tradition that 'king Nanda's great friend was a Brāhmaṇa, Pāṇini by name' (Jayaswal's edition, p. 14), and also adds that in the capital of Magadha there were Brāhmaṇa controversialists who gathered at the king's court. Hiuen Tsiang from his record of the tradition as handed down in Pāṇini's birth-place, Śālātura, states that Pāṇini after finishing his work sent it to the supreme ruler, who exceedingly prized it and issued an edict that throughout the kingdom it should be used and taught to others (*Siyuki*, p. 115). Although the name of the king and that of the town of Pāṭaliputra are not mentioned, he confirms the tradition of Pāṇini's connection with a royal court and patronage bestowed upon him in recognition of his talents. Rājaśekhara (900 A.D.) connects Pāṇini with the *Śāstrakāra Parīkṣā* of Pāṭaliputra which as we have shown corresponds with the account of the Great Synod or the literary assembly held under royal patronage which Megasthenes found functioning at Pāṭaliputra as an old institution (M'Crindle's *Megasthenes*, Frag XXXIII; *Strabo*, XV. I). A tradition which is thus testified to by different sources seems to be based on truth. The contact between *Udīcya* (Northern) and *Prācya* (Eastern) scholars was a feature of intellectual life of ancient India from the time of the *Upaniṣads*. For instance, Uddālaka Āruṇi of the Pañcāla country proceeded towards the land of the Madras in search of higher knowledge imparted by the teacher Svaidāyana Śaunaka. Pāṇini also had his share in this kind of intellectual intercourse. The *Aṭṭhapakāsinī* commentary of the Simhalese Mahāvaṁśa in narrating the early life of Cāṇakya speaks of his visit to Pāṭaliputra to achieve suppremacy at its learned gatherings by disputation (*Vādaṁ paryesantato Puppha-puraṁ gantvā*).

An important factor in determining Pāṇini's time would be the name and time of the Nanda king known to Pāṇini. This question is of admitted difficulty owing to the great confusion of Nanda chronology. There are, however, two points that are settled: (1) the year 326 B.C. as the final year of the last Nanda king, ruling over the country of the Prasii and Gangiridai as reported to Alexander. He was overthrown by Candragupta Maurya. The other date is obtained by reckoning from the fifth year of king Khāravela (165 B.C.) who in the Hathigumpha inscription dated in the year 165 of the era of Raja Muriya refers to Nanda-rāja in connection with a canal evcavated by him 300 years earlier. Another passage in the same inscription records that king Nanda carried away to Magadha the statue of the first Jina. We thus find King Nanda ruling in Pāṭaliputra about the year 456 B.C. This Nanda king can be no other than Nandivardhana (*Early History of India*, p. 44). Of the kings of Śiśunāga dynasty as given in the Purāṇas Nandivardhana and Mahānanda occur as the last two kings after whom succeeded the base born Nandas. With the fixed point 465 B.C. falling within the reign of king Nanda, we may arrive at a tolerably definite period for the reigns of these two Nanda kings as c. 473 B.C. to 403 B.C. Mahāpadma Nanda and his sons appear to have ruled from about 403 B.C. to 323 B.C. According to Tāranātha, Nanda the patron of Pāṇini was the father of Mahāpadma. It is thus evident that the Nanda king, the reputed contemporary and patron of Pāṇini of the popular stories is Mahānanda, son and successor of Nandivardhana, or the Nandarāja of the Hathigumpha inscription. In view of the joint period of the reigns of Nandivardhana and Mahānandin as stated above we may assume for the reign of Mahānandin the period c. 446 to 403 B.C.

The above hypothesis of Pāṇini's date based on the traditional account of his contemporaneity with a Nanda king accommodates in an admirable manner all the known facts about him, and reconciles the various lines of arguments discussed above in connection with his chronology which seem to converge at this particular point, *viz.* the middle of the fifth century B.C.

It is worth noting that grammatical literature also has preserved some references to the Nanda tradition. In the illustration *Nandopakramāṇi mānāni* (*Kāśikā* on II. 4. 21) we have an allusion that the weights and measures of the country were standardised for the first time by king Nanda. Again *sūtra* VI.2.133. Pāṇini says that the word *putra* coming after the word *rājā* does not take an initial acute accent. The commentators agree that the word *rājan* includes here also the specific names of individual kings, and in this connection they remember the name of king Nanda, whose son is referred to as Nanda-putra. We have the testimony not only of Khāravela that the name of the king ruling in 465 B.C. was Nanda, but the form is also supported by the Jaina tradition and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* as pointed out by Jayaswal (*JBORS.*, 1917). We may identify Nandaputra with Mahānandin, son and successor of King Nanda of Nandarāja, or Nandivardhana.

Political Data

Pāṇini refers to Magadha as one of the monarchies, but it was not an empire. In his time the Udīcya country was made up of a number of States, kingships like Gandhāra (IV. 1. 169) and republics (*Saṃgha*, V. 3. 114) such as Kṣudraka-Mālavas. We know it as fact that none of the kings who sat on the throne of Rājagṛha or Pāṭaliputra from Bimbisāra upto the last Nanda king uprooted by Candragupta, ever extended his empire so far as the Vāhīka country. The Greeks under Alexander found the Nandas east of the Beas. In the Prācya country Pāṇini mentions Magadha, Kośala, Avanti, Kaliṅga and Sūramasa as separate states (*Janapadas*), which as stated by Kātyāyana (*vārttika* on *sūtra* IV. I. 168) were kingships (*Ekarāja*), where the sovereignty vested in one.

It was not yet the time for the rise of Magadhan imperialism. Ajātaśatru as king of Magadha annexed the kingdoms of Kāśī and Kośala. But it was only a passing phase. The last two rulers of this dynasty, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, did not make any annexations. The Purāṇas state that it was only Mahāpadma Nanda who annexed the leading Kṣattriya states of the time, *viz.* the Ikṣvākus of Kośala, Pañcālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas and Vītihotras, and made himself the sole sovereign (*ekarāṭ*) or emperor. Therefore the period, when the *Ekarāja* kingdoms of Kuru, Kośala, Magadha, Kaliṅga, Avanti and Aśmaka, mentioned specifically in the *sūtras* as so many kingships, was anterior to the time of Mahāpadma Nanda, *i.e.* before about 400 B.C. Thus the political conditions adumberated in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* were clearly those that prevailed roughly during the period 450 to 400 B.C.

Referring to Yavanānī

In his mention of Yavana and Yavanānī writing, Pāṇini is making a definite reference to a contact with a foreign people which is of great value in determining his date.

The inscription of Darius (516 B.C.) first uses the term *yauna* (=Skt. *Yavana*) for Ionia and for the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor as a part of his empire. Thus the term *Yavana* came into circulation in India when a part of India too like Asia Minor was annexed to the Persian Empire. It is therefore a mistake to suppose (as Benfey, Burnell, Weber and Wackernagel have done) that it was the Macedonian Greeks who came into India with Alexander about two centuries later who were first called Yavanas.

Thus the Yavanas came to be known in India much earlier than Alexander's time. As pointed out by Keith: 'There is also a striking piece of evidence that Greek writing was known in North India before Alexander's time: coins have been found with Greek inscription of pre-Alexanderian date[1]. Greek engraved gems, of a pattern much earlier than Macedonian times, have been found in the Panjab, and the Caduceus was known in India by B.C. 325 at the latest[2]. (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 24). The Greeks under Alexander found previously settled in the Kabul valley a colony of the Nysian Greeks. In the Old-Persian Inscriptions of Darius we first find the term *Yauna* denoting Ionia and an Ionian, and *Yaunā*, Ionians, corresponding to Sanskrit *Yavanaḥ* and *Yavanāḥ* (Sukumar Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 223). Both Ionia and Gandhāra, the home of Pāṇini, formed part of the empire of Darius and also continued under the reign of Xerxes, who recruited to his army a contingent of Indians from Gandhāra in his expedition against Greece about the year 479 B.C. Thus was furnished a first hand opportunity to the Indians to become acquainted with the Greeks even before Alexander. As Prof. Keith has observed: 'If it is borne in mind that Pāṇini was a native of Gandhāra according to Hiuen Tsiang, a view confirmed by the references in his grammar, it will not seem far-fetched to consider that it was most probably from the older tradition that the name Yavanānī was derived (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 23). The word *lipi* borrowed from the Achaemenian *dipi* meaning an edict is conspicuous by absence in the Buddhist canonical works and seems to have been borrowed from Achaemenian Iran. It may further be assumed that *Yavanānī Lipi* was known in Gandhāra.

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[1] Quoted by Bühler in his *Indian Palæography*, p. 27.

[2] *Vienna Oriental Journal*, XIII, 307; Fleet, *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 631.

Pāṇini and the Persians

We have also direct evidence to show Pāṇini's acquaintance with the Persians. For instance, *sūtra* V. 3. 117 (*Parśvādiyaudheyādibhyām aṇ-añan*) refers to a people called Parśus as a military community (*Āyudhajīvī Saṁgha*). The term Parśu may be the Sanskrit term for Persians. A part of India was already a province of the Achaemenian empire, under Cyrus and Darius which it enriched both with its military and material resources. Indians were already serving in the army of Xerxes and fighting his battles about 487 B.C., while that very small part of India paid as much as the total revenue of the Persian empire. There was thus an intimate intercourse between north-western part of India and Persia, and Pāṇini as a native of that region must have had direct experience of such intercourse. The term *Parśu* corresponds to the Old-Persian form *Pārsa* as given in the Behistun inscription. The Babylonian form of the name in the same Inscription is *Par-su* which comes closer to Pāṇini's *Parśu* (*Behistun Ins.*, British Museum, pp. 159-166). It appears that Parśu was the name of a country as noted in the Babylonian version, and Pāṇini's Pārśava was a designation of an individual member of that *Saṁgha*, a form of the name which corresponds to Babylonian *Par-sa-a-a*. Not only Gandhāra but also Sindhu corrupted into Persian Hindu in the inscription of Darius (corresponding to the Sind-Sagar Doab of the Western Panjab) came under the occupation of the Achaemenians at one time (cf. Hamadan Plate Ins., *JRAS.*, 1926, pp. 633-6; *Jour. Cama Ins.*, 1927; *Memoir ASI.*, No. 34).

Similarly, another possible Persian tribe was known in India as *Vṛkas*, mentioned as another *Āyudhajīvī Saṁgha* by Pāṇini, a community that lived by the profession of arms. An individual member of this tribe was called in Sanskrit *Vārkeṇya*, a term which probably corresponds to the term *Varakāṇa* of the Behistun Inscription. The whole tribe was called *Vṛkāḥ*, which corresponds to the form *Varkā* in the plural number in the name *Saka Haumavarkā* in the Naksh-Rustam Inscription. The Vṛkas appear to be a section of the war-like Saka tribes.

A long period of contact with Persia is responsible for the introduction of other Persian terms into India. For example, the word *Kanthā* as a place-name ending is a Scythian term for a town, preserved in such names as Samarkand, Khokan, Chimkent, etc. Pāṇini notices the *kanthā*-ending names as being common in the Bannu valley and the Uśīnara country between the lower course of the Chenab and Rāvi, and also instances some particular names such as Cihaṇa-kantham and Maḍura-kantham, which are rather un-Indian names.

The above data point to the period of India's close contact with Persia under the Achaemenian emperors Darius (522-486 B.C.) and Xerxes (485-465 B.C.) on account of their Indian conquest. This explains the use of such terms in India as *Yavana*, *Parśu*, *Vṛka*, *Kanthā*. To these we may add two other terms *jābāla* (goat-herd) and *hailihila* (poison), mentioned by Pāṇini which are Semitic words.

The foregoing evidence points to Pāṇini's knowledge of the Persians about the time of these Achaemenian emperors.

The Kṣudraka-Mālavas

On account of Pāṇini's reference to the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas in the formation *Kṣaudraka-Mālavī Senā* in the *gaṇasūtra* of *sūtra* IV. 2. 45, Weber argued that this reference brings down the time of Pāṇini (and also his predecessor Āpiśali) to that of Alexander's invasion which was resisted by those two Indian tribes called by the Greeks the Oxydrakai and Malloi. He argued that the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas had been usually at war with each other and a foreign invasion brought them together to fight a common foe by pooling their military resources in a united army called *Kṣaudraka-Mālavī-Senā*. This united army was a reality which confronted Alexander and is described by the Greek historians as consisting of 90,000 foot soldiers, all fit for active service, together with 10,000 cavalry, and 900 war chariots (Curtius, *Alexander's Invasion*, p. 234).

So far as Āpiśali is concerned, Weber misunderstood the text relating to *Apiśali-vidhi* (quoted by Patañjali), which has no connection with the Kṣudraka-Mālavas and is concerned only with the formation *Adhenavam*. Its purpose was restricted to show the prevalence of Tadantavidhi in the Sāmūhika or group-denoting suffixes.

Secondly the confederate military arrangement between the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas was not a temporary make-shift, but was permanent in its character so as to find its way into current language in the expression *Kṣaudraka-Mālavī Senā* as a special grammatical formation. There is again every probability that Pāṇini himself composed the *Gaṇasūtra Kṣudraka-Mālavāt Senā-saṁjñāyām* on the basis of his personal knowledge of such an army. In fact the details given by the Greek writers rather indicate that this joint army had existed before Alexander and was not the outcome of any emergency. Curtius definitely states that the Kṣudrakas and Mālavas *in accordance with their custom* had selected as their head a brave warrior of the nation of the Kṣudrakas who was an experienced general (*Alexander's Invasion*, p. 236). Unfortunately, at the time of giving battle to Alexander the events took a turn just opposite to what Weber would have us believe. Diodoros expressly states 'that the Kṣudraka-Mālavas could not agree as to the choice of a leader and ceased in consequence to keep the field together' (*Alex. Inv.*, p. 236, f.n.). Curtius almost confirms the version of Diodoros by saying that 'overnight a dissension arose amongst them and they retired to their mountain recesses.' He goes one step further to acquaint us with the subsequent course of events saying that most of the army took shelter in the fortified city of the Kṣudrakas which was beseiged by Alexander, and this was followed by the most heroic resistance and the fiercest attack that the Greek army had experienced so far in which Alexander himself received a deadly wound. Obviously after their separation from the Mālavas, the Kṣudrakas bore the brunt of the battle singly. Finally, peace was negotiated on behalf of the fighters by deputing one hundred ambassadors whom the Greeks received with such uncommon hospitality and honour as are unusual in the case of a crushed enemy. The grammatical illustration which Patañjali repeats thrice in the *Bhāṣya* (*Ekākibhiḥ Kṣudrakair-jitam, asahāyair-ityarthaḥ*, I. 83; I. 321; II.412) presents a true picture of the events as preserved on the Indian side, namely that the Kṣudrakas were matched alone against the invaders and emerged triumphant.

This takes the bottom out of Weber's argument and we may be certain that the league of the Kṣudraka-Mālava army had been in existence long before Alexander.

The numerous *Āyudhajīvī saṁghas* in the Panjab and North-West India point to political conditions as existed before the rise of Mauryan Imperialism. Pāṇini treats of the *Saṁgha* polity as if it were at the zenith of its growth. Gradually the *Saṁghas* began to decline and the march of the Greeks through their land fully exposed their political weakness. This made the *Saṁghas* unpopular and created a movement for their unification of which indications are found in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Pāṇini lived in the peak period of the *Saṁghas*, and an interval of about a century should be allowed for their decline against the rise of a centralised monarchy or empire.

Pāṇini and Kauṭilya

It has been argued that Kauṭilya writes a language which, though archaic in certain respects is decidedly later than the language of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, p. 80). From the foregoing studies it is apparent that the works of both refer to many similar institutions. Sometimes the *Arthaśāstra* appears as the best commentary on Pāṇini in regard to certain specific and peculiar terms referred to by both, *e.g. Maireya, Kāpiśāyana, Devapatha, Ākranda, Yuktārohī, Upaniṣad, Vinaya, Pariṣad, Viṣya*, and certain other terms for institutions, such as names of administrative officers, as already seen, succession of agricultural crops, and classes of punch-marked coins, as well as weights and measures. These and many other details noticed in the body of the work furnish striking parallels between them. But as Thieme has put it Kauṭilya was junior to Pāṇini so that a century may have reasonably intervened between them.

An independent study devoted to a detailed investigation of the points of resemblance and divergence, of facts and institutions that are common to both and that occur exclusively either in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* or in the *Arthaśāstra* will prove not only of absorbing interest, but also of distinct historical and chronological value.

The Evidence of Coins

The numismatic data of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* show that it was more ancient than the *Arthaśāstra*. For instance, Pāṇini's (1) *Niṣka*, (2) *Suvarṇa*, (3) *Śāna*, (4) *Śatamāna*, point to older coinage not known to Kauṭilya. Similarly Kauṭilya does not know of the significant coins named *Viṁśatika* and *Triṁśtaka* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of which actual examples have been found. The evidence of Pāṇini's *Śatamāna* coin is of great importance in this connection. The *Śatamāna* coinage must have been in mintage and circulation in the time of Pāṇini. Its beginnings may be placed a few centuries earlier. It is significant to note in this connection that the reference to *Śatamāna* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is found only in those Books which are associated with the name of Yājñavalkya, *e.g.* in Kāṇḍas V in which Yājñavalkya is quoted as authority and in Kāṇḍas XII, XIII, and XIV. There is not a single reference to the Śatamāna coin in the Agnicayana Books (VI-X) in which Śāṇḍilya to the exclusion of Yājñavalkya figures as the principal authority. This accords with the view that Yājñavalkya was considered as a late Brāhmaṇa writer in comparison with the earlier works of Aitareya and Śāṭyāyana, etc. The chronological inference is that the period of currency of the Śatamāna coin was confined to a few centuries preceding Kauṭilya and to them should be assigned portions of the *Taittirīya* and *Jaiminīya* Brāhmaṇas and also portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which alone mention this coin.

But the coin which is of still greater significance so far as chronological results are concerned is the heavy type of *Kārṣāpaṇa* which was of 20 *māṣās* or 40 *rattis* in weight, and which is definitely mentioned in more than one *sūtra* as a current coin under the name of *Viṃśatika*. Kauṭilya knows only the silver *Kārṣāpaṇa* of 32 *ratti* weight. It appears that the Mauryan administrators struck their standard silver *Kārṣāpaṇa* only of the 16 *māṣa* weight. Pāṇini on the other hand seems to know both classes of silver coins, *viz.* the *Viṃśatika* of heavier weight as its name signifies, and the *Kārṣāpaṇa* of standard weight, which although unspecified was most likely 32 *rattis* as stated in Manu and Kauṭilya. We should therefore assign a period to Pāṇin in which *Viṃśatika* and *Kārṣāpaṇa* were current coins at one and the same time and this appears to be a numismatic fact of the 5th century B.C. in the time of the Nandas. The heavier *kahāpaṇa* of 20 *māṣas* was current in Rājagṛha during Bimbisāra's reign. The *Viṃśatika* was the local currency of different *Janapadas*. The Nandas felt called upon to introduce for the first time a uniform system of weights and measurers and standardised coinage, for their empire (cf. the illustration *Nandopakramāṇi mānāni*) extending from Kaliṅga to Pañcāla. This system is known in medical works as *Māgadha māna* as distinguished from the *Kāliṅga māna* which continued to be a separate system. The coinage of the Nandas showed the following new features: (1) a standard *Kārṣāpaṇa* of 16 *māṣas* in place of *Vīṃśatika* of 20 *māṣas*; (2) punching of obverse and reverse symbols on two sides of a coin instead of on the same side as before; (3) increasing the number of obverse symbols in a group to 5, instead of 4 as on *Viṃśatika* and earlier coins; (4) introducing the Sun and six-armed (*ṣaḍara*) symbols as constant ones in changing groups of 5; (5) simplifying the forms, but greatly adding to the variety of the symbols punched. The new *Kārṣāpaṇa* of 32 *rattis* of the Nandas may be actually identified in the thin and broad flat pieces with clear symbols punched on them, known to numismatists. The thick and short variety in which peacock or moon-on-hill symbols appear belong to the Maurya period. The distinction of the earlier and later *Kārṣāpaṇas* is best seen in the form of their six-armed symbols, those with an oval as a constituent of the six-armed symbol being earlier than those with an arrow or taurine.

The above description of the several classes of early punch-marked coins makes it clear that the coinage known to Pāṇini was distinctly more ancient than that prevailing in Kauṭilya's time and holds true to the Nanda period.

Personal Names

The evidence of personal names current in Pāṇini's time also supports the above chronological considerations. The *Gotra* names were current in the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*, whereas in the Maurya period two other features appeared, *viz.* contraction of personal names and names after asterisms. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* represents a stage between the two when the *Gotra* names and the *Nakṣatra*-names were in use at the same time. The *Gotra*-name was an old Vedic custom whereas the *Nakṣatra*-name was a new feature sanctioned by the Gṛhyasūtras. There is no scope for shortening of *Gotra* names, and so the laws of contraction detailed by Pāṇini applied to names other than *Gotra* names. In this respect the early Buddhist literature shows an equal preference for *Gotra* and *Nakṣatra* names and thus appears closer to Pāṇini's time.

Pāṇini and the Jātakas

In many respects Pāṇini's language is earlier than that of the *Jātakas*, but in some cases the coincidence between the two is striking and helpful towards chronology. Attention may be drawn here especially to the material for mounting chariots, *viz. dvaipa, vaiyāghra* and *pāṇḍukambala*, which are mentioned in Pāṇini and the *Jātakas*. The expressions cited above represent older conditions: and as a matter of fact these words occur in the *Gāthā* portions of the *Jātakas* which are admittedly earlier than the prose portions. A date in the fifth century B.C. would explain the linguistic similarities between the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Jātakas*.

Pāṇini and the Madhyampatha

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is marked by balanced judgment in dealing with conflicting views and grammatical controversies. While examining the grammatical data of Pāṇini we have already drawn attention to this spirit of synthesis. In this respect Pāṇini's work can be said to be a true product of its age, the epoch of *Majjhima-paṭipadā*, the best representative of which was another master mind, the Buddha himself. Those who accepted the path of the golden mean as the ideal course to follow avoided insistence on extreme views, and we actually find Pāṇini avoiding the mistakes of his predecessors like Śākaṭāyana, and presenting all through the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* a synthesis which made that work so popular and acceptable.

Summary

The foregoing considerations regarding Pāṇini's chronological position may be now summarised. The various dates assigned to Pāṇini range from the seventh to the fourth century B.C. The majority of scholars are inclined to the view of the fifth and the fourth century B.C. The view taken in this work is that a date nearer the fifth century B.C. appears more probable on the basis of the available data. It takes Pāṇini to be a contemporary of the Nanda king named Mahānanda and thus assigns him to the middle of the fifth century B.C.

The literary argument offers a corrective to the extreme views of Goldstücker about the types of literature and literary works known to Pāṇini. The argument for a late dating after Alexander's invasion based on references to Yavanānī script and to the confederated army of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas has been duly answered. For Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's argument based on Pāṇini's supposed ignorance of the south it has also been shown that Pāṇini's geographical horizon extended from Kamboja (Pamir) to Aśmaka on the Godāvarī, and from Sauvīra (Sind) in the west to Kaliṅga and Sūramasa (Surma valley of Assam) in the east, and also included that part of South India which lies within the tropics (VIII. 4. 25) and also some islands situated in mid-ocean.

The references to such specifically Buddhist terms as *Maskarī*, *Kumārī-Śramaṇā* (maiden nuns), *Nikāya* and *Nirvāṇa*, support the view that Pāṇini came after the Buddha.

The argument from numismatic data and the nature of current personal names treated of by Pāṇini point in the direction that Pāṇini lived in the same cultural epoch to which belongs the Pali canon.

Moreover, the somewhat striking resemblance of technical terms as between Pāṇini and Kauṭilya indicate that Pāṇini was not far removed from Kauṭilya's time.

The astronomical argument is based on the fact that in the list of ten star names given in *sūtra* IV.3.34 Śraviṣṭhā is made to head the list. This points to the practice of astronomical reckoning known to the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa in which Śraviṣṭhā was the first in the list of *nakṣatras*. This position of Śraviṣṭhā continued from B.C. 1372 to about 401 B.C., *i.e.* the close of the fifth century B.C. After this the asterism of Śravaṇa was put at the head of the list. This gives us a definite lower limit for the date of Pāṇini.

The trend of this varied evidence is to place Pāṇini in about the middle of the fifth century B.C. This relative definite chronological fixture in the case of Pāṇini is somewhat singular, not obtainable for so many other master minds in the literary history of ancient India.[3]

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

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[3] A chapter from the author's Thesis, *India in Pāṇini*.

The Problem of Perception in Advaita Vedānta*

The metaphysical stand of a school of philosophy affects to a considerable extent its epistemological and logical theories. The absolute monistic standpoint of Advaita Vedānta shapes its epistemological theories with a constant eye on this ultimate metaphysical truth.

The process of Perception, according to Advaita Vedānta, is, therefore, much different from that as upheld in the realistic standpoint of the Naiyāyikas.

The means of knowledge, though differing in different systems of Indian Philosophy, are explained in so far as they give us valid knowledge as distinguished from erroneous or false cognition. Knowledge, to be valid, must conform to the process by which the means of knowledge are supposed to give rise to such knowledge. In what, then, does the validity of knowledge consist, or in other words, what is valid knowledge? The validity of knowledge is said to consist in its object being such as was not comprehended before and also such as is not contradicted afterwards. These two marks are regarded as constituting the knowledge of an object valid—both in the Advaita Vedānta and the Nyāya systems. Such knowledge is known as 'pramā' or valid knowledge as distinguished from 'smṛti' or memory. Knowledge of an object from memory is not regarded as valid knowledge by these systems inasmuch as it does not give us knowledge of a new object not previously cognised but of a previously cognised object which is recalled in a subsequent act of cognition. However, recollective knowledge is not rejected in certain other systems, e.g., in the Jaina and the Viśiṣṭādvaita systems. These systems hold that such knowledge is not less valid if it gives us the knowledge of an object, not contradicted by a subsequent knowledge. From the realistic standpoint, the Naiyāyikas regard valid knowledge as consisting in a correspondence between knowledge and the object of knowledge. This correspondence is due to the cognition of the object outside the knowing subject by the sense-organs which help the mind to grasp such objects. If such knowledge which is ultimately knowledge of the individual self has its object really in the same from outside as is cognised, it is valid knowledge. In Advaita Vedānta, however, valid knowledge presupposes a subjective factor more than in the Nyāya theory, for non-comprehension and non-contradiction of the object in which valid knowledge consists are the subjective aspects in such knowledge, whereas the correspondence between knowledge and the object of knowledge comes later.

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The ontological standpoint of Advaita Vedānta, however, does not recognise such valid knowledge as the ultimate knowledge. In all our empirical knowledge we have the distinction of subject-object-means of knowledge which is not competent to reveal to us Absolute Knowledge which is nothing but Brahman, the Highest Truth, where all distinctions are totally negated. So when we speak of knowledge from the epistemological and the psychological standpoints, Advaita Vedānta upholds, we can only have valid *empirical* knowledge which is true as long as the Highest Truth is not cognised, but not ultimately true. So our psychology and epistemology fail us to realise Absolute Knowledge, but nevertheless we have the empirical validity and invalidity of knowledge so long as we have the valid or the invalid psychological and epistemological processes.

According to Advaita Vedānta, the validity of perceptual cognition consists undoubtedly in the direct apprehension of the object which must be corresponding to the subject's knowledge, provided that the subject has no previous cognition of the same object and the object is not contradicted by his subsequent knowledge. But in what does the directness of valid perceptual knowledge consist? What ultimately is responsible for the object existing outside the subject coming in a very direct and immediate perception of it? The very nature of perception is this directness and immediacy of such knowledge: all other forms of valid cognition (which are five in number excepting Perception, according to Advaita Vedānta) are not direct and immediate, but are indirect and mediate in so far as they arise in the subject through its previous perceptual cognitions and judgments made for having such cognitions about the phenomena of the world. According to Advaita Vedānta, Absolute Consciousness (Caitanya or Cit), which is equated with Brahman, the Highest Truth, is the only source of our direct, immediate perception of objects existing outside the mind, the subject of perception. It is the eternal light, the self-luminous principle, the only real source, for the illumination of the objects of the external world which are all inert, blind entities called up by nescience (avidyā) and therefore capable of being directly known when such nescience covering them up is dispelled by Consciousness. This Consciousness is the all-pervading Consciousness which is nevertheless expressed through finite minds and for the comprehension of finite objects covered up by Nescience Beginningless (māyā) through its finite effects (avidyā) which are also of the nature of nescience. Such being the ontological position of Advaita Vedānta, it can hardly think in terms of the Nyāya theory, in which the objects—which are not regarded as being covered up by objective nescience in every case, but only by subjective ignorance due to distance etc.,—can be directly known by the subject through the sense-organs coming in contact, somehow or other, with them.

So our perceptual knowledge, to be valid, thus says Advaita Vedānta, should have Absolute Consciousness as its ground so that the objects of such cognition are directly presented to the subject by the unveiling of their nescience. In short, Absolute Consciousness is the background of valid perceptual cognition of the object. In and through the direct cognition of the object this Absolute Consciousness is working to make possible the validity of such cognition. But can this position, which is metaphysically sound from the absolute monistic standpoint, really account for perception? Does not perception become a paradox in Advaita Vedānta, for the reason that the principle of Absolute Consciousness which constitutes the very basis of perceptual cognition is beyond all limitations of space, time and causality, so that in the epistemological plane where we have certain finite means to have valid knowledge, we have to delimit this limitless principle of Consciousness which gives validity to perceptual knowledge. To answer these charges Advaita Vedānta replies to this effect that what forms the basis of the validity of such cognition is undoubtedly Absolute Consciousness, but as we have different perceptual cognitions at different times under different conditions, the Absolute Consciousness finds expressions through particular finite channels which are in the nature of modifications of the 'antaḥkaraṇa'[1] which is the subject of such cognitions. These modifications of the 'antaḥkaraṇa' are called 'vṛttis' in Advaita Vedānta—but I prefer to denote them by the term "knowledge-urges of the 'antaḥkaraṇa' or the mind." Here it is that the epistemological process of perception really begins, is carried on and ceases. Consciousness as expressed through the mind by its 'knowledge-urges' for particular situations of valid perception accounts for the direct cognition of the objects of such knowledge.

In an act of perceptual cognition the object is undoubtedly perceived, but it is also a fact that such cognition in itself is also perceived, i.e., immediately known. Advaita Vedānta recognises this fact and gives an account of perception from these two aspects—*viz.*, from the aspects of the 'immediacy of the object' and of the 'immediacy of the cognition.' Perception is attained, as has been already described, by the comprehension of Absolute Consciousness, which is the sole arbiter in immediate cognition, as expressed in finite 'knowledge-urges' through the mind. This is the basic principle of immediate cognition in Advaita Vedānta. Hence in an act of perception where we have knowledge of objects directly through the mind, the subject of perception, as working through the sense-organs under different conditions at different times in the matter of perceiving different objects, we can say that the same Absolute Consciousness is delimited by three finite entities—(a) the object, (b) the knowledge-urges of the mind and (c) the mind.

Now when we say in an act of perception that our cognition is immediate, Advaita Vedānta upholds, the mind's knowledge-urges which go out through the sense-organs get identified with the objects so as to be transformed according to them, and this identity is only possible from the standpoint of Absolute Consciousness as delimited by the knowledge-urges and the objects. The mind is not a formless entity for it is a created thing, according to Advaita Vedānta : hence when it gets in touch with the object through the sense-organs it undergoes some modifications, like waves in the light which is reflected against a physical object. These modifications of the mind are, according to Advaita Vedānta, transformed according to the shapes of the objects towards which they are projected. These modifications, which I prefer to denote as the 'knowledge-urges', of the mind are really the instrumental means of our perceptual cognitions. The sense-organs are the sluice-gates of these knowledge-urges coming in contact with, and being transformed according to, the objects; so they are the secondary means of perceptual cognition. Now this process—where there arises a bridge between the outer and the inner, the object lying without and the mental knowledge-urges lying within the subject of perception,—is possible, because, as Advaita Vedānta says, there is the same Consciousness as finding expressions through the inner knowledge-urges and the outer objects, where the former arise under particular conditions through particular sense-organs for particular objects, and the latter are such as are present at the time of perception and capable of being perceived in that specific process of perception. So in one act of perception, according to Advaita Vedānta, we can have only one kind of mental knowledge-urges at one time. The mind goes out and is modified according to that object which it wants to perceive. So in the cognition of two qualities, like colour and weight, of the same object *by the same process of perception* (say, by visual perception) we cannot have the simultaneous perception of them. We visually perceive the colour, but not the weight of the object which can be known by tactual perception. Hence we conclude that our cognition, to be immediate, must have a union of Consciousness as expressed through the knowledge-urges of the mind by the sense-organs towards particular objects and the objects of perception.

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[1] This term 'antaḥkaraṇa' is used in Indian philosophical systems, though not strictly in accordance with the Western psychological conception, to denote the mind ('manas'). So I shall henceforth adhere to this English equivalent, *viz.*, mind.

This process of immediate cognition—where we have only a directness in our perceptual knowledge in so far as it arises immediately out of Consciousness as expressed through the knowledge-urges of the mind and the objects—is, according to Advaita Vedānta, not yet competent to vouchsafe to us the object directly and immediately for which a deeper process is necessary. It can be said here in passing that when we have a union of Consciousness as expressed through the knowledge-urges of the mind and the objects of perception, we have not the directness of cognition alone which has been explained above, but also the objects according to which the knowledge-urges of the mind get transformed and come in our perceptual cognition. Why, then, does Advaita Vedānta go for a 'deeper process' to explain the 'directness of an object' in perceptual cognition? It can be said here that a school of Advaita Vedānta, the school of Vivaraṇa, advocates in favour of this 'deeper process'. Its position is that the object is not immediately perceived by Consciousness as expressed through the mental knowledge-urges transformed according to them, but as expressed through the mind itself, the subject of perception, so that the object does not only come into direct contact with the subject, but loses its separate existence in the process. How is this identity possible, for in actual perception we have distinct cognition of the subject and the object as in 'I know the pot'? So we cannot say that there is identity between subject-object in perception. But Advaita Vedānta's position is very clear in view of its metaphysical stand. It declares that there is really no identity in subject-object, but there is undoubtedly one existence pervading subject-object. The doctrine of illusory superimposition (adhyāsavāda) which Advaita Vedānta advocates for proving its absolute monistic standpoint is applied to subject-object in perception. All material things are, according to Advaita Vedānta, super-imposed on Consciousness; the super imposed have no separate existence from that on which they are super-imposed; the super-imposed are illusory, the substratum of super-imposition is only real. If we push this position a little further in this context, we will have to admit that the external object is really super-imposed on Consciousness which it delimits; hence the object has no existence of its own apart from such Conciousness. Now we have seen above that Consciousness as expressed through the object becomes psychologically consilient with Consciousness as expressed through the knowledge-urges of the mind so that we have immediate cognition. But this Consciousness delimited by the knowledge-urges of the mind is really consilient with Consciousness as expressed through the mind, the subject of perception, which goes out through such knowledge-urges. Hence ultimately the external object, as having no separate existence of its own, is super-imposed on Consciousness as expressed through the mind and so it becomes identical in existence with the Subjective Consciousness. When there arises this subjective-objective psychological consilience, so that the object loses its separate existence and is perceived only when the subject is perceived *as knowing the object*, then alone this school of Advaita Vedānta, in conformity with its metaphysical attitude, declares that we have a direct, immediate cognition of the object. Unless the object becomes affiliated to the subject in perception, we cannot say that it has been immediately cognised by a somewhat incoherent sensory contact between the mind or the subject and the object, the cogniser and the cognised. This is the position of Advaita Vedānta in respect of perceptual cognition where its explanations are unique and its ontological stand has a great bearing upon this unique Advaita Theory of Perception.

BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA

Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire

Dr. A. S. Altekar has rendered an yeoman's service in clarifying one of the typical hiatuses in our national history—the age of the Kuṣāṇas. His notice of the Buxar hoard of Kuṣāṇa coins comes at a most opportune moment, when, a likely misinterpretation, due to unconscious parochial patriotism was about to swing the pendulum in favour of limiting the frontiers of one of the greatest achievements of Asiatic history—the Kuṣāṇa Empire up to the Yamuna.

On the decline of the Greek military colonists, in Bactria and Afghanistan, these countries along with Pakistan and India were destined to be the scene of one of the most thrilling dramas so frequently witnessed on the stage of European and Asiatic histories, namely, the acceptance, adoption and utilisation, of the traits of a higher culture, by a primitive nation, for the fulfilment of their destiny. These were the Kuṣāṇas or the *Ta-yue-chi* of the Chinese 'Annals'. It was they who put an end to the useless existence of the Greeks. The earliest historical member of this dynasty is known as Kujula-Kadphises—who is reported to have held territories from the Caspian Sea to the Pamirs, which was further extended to the banks of Narmadā, as we shall see in the following paragraphs, in the time of his successors. The empire reached the zenith of its glory in the reign of Kaniṣka who even invaded the Chinese empire. It was in the time of these great nomads, precursors of Hulaghu and Chenghiz Khan and finally Taimur the Lame, that a great race admixture seems to have taken place. Various races and tribes that had settled between the Caspian and Narmadā—the Iranians, the Turkis, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians etc. were welded into one single nation to create the Kuṣāṇa state. It was they, who were responsible, in no mean degree, for the creation of the Indo-Hellenistic school and Indo-Scythic School of Mathura. Justifiably we can regard the Kuṣāṇa empire as an achievement in Asiatic history like that of the Achæmenids and the Sassanides.

The scholars are aware of the fact that these kings are divided into two groups; and of the controversy that have raged and is still going on about them since Masson brought their coins to the notice of the educated world. The chronology that the Kadphises group was followed by the Kaṇiṣka group is not agreed to by all. Even the date of Kaṇiṣka is a moot point. The various theories have been admirably summarised by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury[1]. New fuel has been thrown into the fire by Dr. Sten Konow[2]. The extent of their dominions are now well known except the eastern frontier, which has now become a matter of controversy. The eastern limit of the Kuṣāṇa empire in India can be determined with reference to the following points: —

(i) Findspots of inscriptions specifically mentioning Kaṇiṣka, in eastern India.

(ii) Findspots of red sandstone images of the Kuṣāṇa age of Mathura, containing votive records in Kuṣāṇa characters but not mentioning any reigning monarch.

(iii) Findspots of the silver and copper coins of the great Kuṣāṇas in Eastern India; these were primarily meant for local use.

(iv) His local governors and viceroys and their respective territories.

Findspots of Inscriptions

(i) In eastern India epigraphs specifically mentioning Kuṣāṇa emperors have been found at Sarnath in the Banaras District; established on the *caṁkama* of the Buddha on the 22nd day of the 3rd month of winter in the 3rd regnal year of Kaṇiṣka. It also mentions Kharapallana and Vanaspara as *Mahākṣatrapa* and *Kṣatrapa* respectively[3].

(ii) The second statue was found at Saheth-Maheth, ancient Śrāvastī of the Kośala country, in the Goṇḍa district of U.P.

(iii) An inscribed image probably referring to Kaṇiṣka was found at Gaya by Cunningham[4].

An impression of a gold coin of Huviṣka was noticed by Cunningham while conserving the Mahabodhi Temple[5]. When in the reign of Huviṣka the *Vajrāsana* was re-established, probably a coin was placed beneath it. Though it was stolen at a later date, it left its impression on the soil to tell the story of this petty larceny to posterity.

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[1] *Political History of Ancient India* (4th ed.), pp. 465 ff.

[2] *CII.*, vol. ii, pt. i, (Introduction).

[3] *Ep. Indica*, vol. viii, p. 176 & plate.

[4] Cunningham, *Mahā-Bodhi*, pp. 21, 37, 53 & 54 quoted by Dr. B. C. Sen.

[5] Cunningham, *Mahā-Bodhi*, p. 20, pl. x, 11.

(a) In the second class, comes a series of inscriptions in Kuṣāṇa characters inscribed on the pedestals of images of red sandstone of Karri and the style as well as technique betray their production from Mathura studios. First comes the red sandstone image of Maṇi Nāga and Svastikā Nāga found in the ruins of Manivāra Maṭha within the amphitheatre of the ancient Girivraja[6].

(b) The Kuṣāṇa characters found on the cover of the *Vajrāsana* at Bodh-Gaya[7].

(c) R. D. Banerji drew our attention to the find of a fragment of a red sandstone image at Gaya possibly by J. D. Beglar. According to him it was in the collection of the deceased scholar, purchased by the Indian Museum authorities (I. M. Accession No. 6282)[8].

(d) During the excavations of Rajgir the late Dr. T. Bloch found an inscribed pedestal of a red sandstone image[9].

(e) The excavations of Dr. Spooner yielded several such fragments of the red sandstone images originally established at ancient Pāṭaliputra[10].

(f) Nongarh is a village in the Jamui sub-division of the Munghyr district, about 11 miles south-east of Lakhisarai, on the west bank of the Kiul river. There was a huge mound at this place approximately 40′ in height. Cunningham's excavations yielded *inter alia* a red sandstone image of Karri (Sikri) inscribed in Kuṣāṇa characters[11].

Findspots of coins

The undermentioned places in Bihar, old united Bengal and Orissa have yielded Kuṣāṇa coins.

[6] *IHQ.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 152 ff.; *JNSI.*, vol. xii, pt. ii, p. 178 ff.

[7] Cunningham, *Mahā-Bodhi*, p. 58, pl. xxii, 11.

[8] *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. i, (3rd ed.), p. 38, note 19.

[9] *AR., ASI.*, 1905-6, p. 106. Quoted by Banerji and illustrated in his *Origin of the Bengali Script.*

[10] *Ibid.*, 1912-13, p. 60.

[11] *ASR.*, vol, iii, p. 160 f.; vol. viii, p. 118 f.

(i) In 1882, a copper coin of Kaṇiṣka, was found at Tamluk, in the Midnapur district of West Bengal[12].

(ii) In 1890, a base metal coin of Vāsudeva had been found in the Murshidabad district of West Bengal. It had been sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but, is now not traceable[13].

(iii) In 1909, a gold coin of the same king was found in the Bogra district of the present Eastern Pakistan[14].

(iv) Three silver Kuṣāṇa coins from North Bengal were illustrated and discussed by N. G. Majumdar[15].

(v) A gold coin of Huviṣka was found at Belvadag *thānā* and a copper coin of Kaṇiṣka in the Karra *thānā* of the Ranchi district[16].

(vi) Excavations at Pāṭaliputra yielded two copper coins of Kaṇiṣka[17], and more of Wima-Kadphises and Huviṣka.

(vii) Kuṣāṇa coins have been found at Vaiśālī in large numbers.

(viii) A very large number of Kuṣāṇa copper issues were shown to me by late Amarnath Shukla of Basti said to have been collected by him from various ruined sites in the Basti district.

(ix) A copper coin of Kaṇiṣka (?) was shown to me, by Dr. K. N. Puri, collected from Kopia, in the Basti district of U.P., in 1951.

(x) Copper coins of Kaṇiṣka and Huviṣka were found at Bhañjakia, in the Panchpir sub-division of the Mayurbhanj district of Orissa[18].

(xi) 112 copper coins of the 'Great' Kuṣāṇas were found in the Mayurbhanj district and noticed by late R. D. Banerji[19].

(xii) Kuṣāṇa coins were again found, according to Śrī P. Acharya, in the excavations of Virāṭgarh, in the Mayurbhanj district.

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[12] *PASB.*, 1882, p. 113.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 162.

[14] R. Chanda, *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 4. It is regretted thtat these important notices have not been included in the *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, pt. i, by C. R. Singhal.

[15] *JASB.*, (N.S.), vol. xxviii, p. 127.

[16] *JBORS.*, vol. i, pp. 231-2, and vol. v, p. 78. For the type of the Kaṇiṣka coin see *IMC.*, vol. i, plate xi, fig. 11.

[17] *AR., ASI.*, 1912-13, pp. 79, 84-85.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 131-32.

[19] *History of Orissa*, vol. i, pp. 111-15.

(xiii) Copper coins of Kaṇiṣka, Huviṣka found at Śisupalgarh[20].

His local rulers

Several provincial rulers of the 'Great Kuṣāṇas' are known to us, from their epigraphs. The vast empire was ruled by great satraps (*Mahākṣatrapa*) and satraps (*Kṣatrapas*). Two of these, Vanaspara and Kharapallana, are also known to us, from the Sarnath image inscription. In addition to the provincial governors, portions seemed to have been ruled by hereditory chiefs and autonomous tribes. Since, we have to take up the question of these tribal republics and monarchies—some of which might have been theocratic, as alleged by Karl Marx, we might consider the respective jurisdiction of these two Kuṣāṇa pro-consuls in the east. Except on the Sarnath umbrella staff inscription, Vanaspara and Kharapallana are not known to us from any other records. To me it seems plausible that, Kharapallana was probably the Viceroy (*Mahākṣatrapa*) of the eastern dominions, with his capital at Mathura while Vanaspara was probably the governor of Avadh and Magadha with headquarters at Banaras. I am suggesting this, because according to the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Thsang, the Mauryan Pāṭaliputra, was already in ruins, which had to be refounded by the Guptas, coming after the Kuṣāṇas. The association of Vanaspara with the administration of Magadha and Banaras is buttressed by the distinguished role, that his alleged descendants, seem to have played, in the later history of these areas. These were 'Vanaphar Rajputs', who, according to Sir George Grierson, had their home originally at Buxar, which has now yielded the largest known hoard of Kuṣāṇa copper coins, so far found in any part of the state of Bihar[21]. In the 2nd century A.D., Ptolemy refers to a people called '*Mandaloy*' who ruled over the Pāṭaliputra and Tāmralipta areas[22]. Dr. B. C. Sen wants to equate '*Mandalai*' with *maṇḍalādhipati*. But '*Mandalai*' and 'Maroundai' are synonymous; and as suggested by S. K. Bose, may have played no insignificant part, in the politics of eastern India, after the disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa Empire[23]. *Muruṇḍas* were 'Saka Lords', equivalent to the Sanskrit *Svāmin*. As such, they are mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. The *Muruṇḍas* being in eastern India while *Sāhi-sāhānu-sāhis* were on the north-western frontier.

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[20] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 98 and 100. Most important is the gold coin of a *Mahārājādhirājasa* etc., for our purpose. Cf. also Dr. Altekar in *JNSI.*, vol. xii, pt. i, pp. 1-4.

[21] *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, p. 298; *JBORS.*, 1920, p. 52.

[22] McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, 1927, pp. 132 33, 167-68, 212-14, 379-80.

Let us now evaluate the evidence. First, we have the recorded findspots of the inscriptions, mentioning Kaṇiṣka specifically, up to Saheth-Maheth in the ancient Kośala country, which ought to have proved final. But, it has been argued, that this evidence is not conclusive. The argument is that Bala brought the image from Mathura, Kharapallana and Vanaspara were at Mathura; and finally Bala hailed from the north, and just decided to mention his Emperor, viceroy, and governor in a benefaction at Migadāva. These arguments do not seem to be convincing to me. There seems to be no ground for believing that Bala was a native of western U. P., he might as well have been born in Banaras. Whether Bala brought a finished image or had it finished by craftsmen imported from Mathura, is a question which we might leave for the present to the Indian art critics to decide. The main question is why a foreign monarch and his consul and pro-consul in a foreign territory should be mentioned, because, logic and reason will be always defeated before obstinacy. The most important point however is the era. The use of the reckoning started by Kaṇiṣka, in an area in which he had no political interest seems to be all the more amazing; because, surely, we can credit the people of *Antarvedī* and the ancient Kāśī *raṭṭha*, to have a reckoning of their own, till a Turki-Kuṣāṇa decided to introduce one. If we refuse to equate it with the Śaka or any other eras; the use of regnal years of an alien monarch becomes all the more surprising. It was a fairly well-established custom that Buddhists while dedicating an image mentioned the king of the area where it was established. Why the case of Bala should be an exception.

To cite an ancient example, king Bālaputradeva of Java had erected a monastery at Nalanda; and intended to make some financial arrangements. He does not mention his reign period or any Javanese era but sent a diplomatic mission to King Devapāla of Bengal. The result was the Nalanda C.P. of the king, which was found in the foundations of the very monastic establishment it was expected to benefit. Several images and pillars were erected when Mahendrapāla was occupying Magadha and Varendrī; and all these were dated in his regnal years[24]. The fragmentary inscription found at Sarnath dated in the Kalacuri era recording the pious celebrations of the *Upāsikā* Māmakā may be cited as an additional instance[25].

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[23] *Indian Culture,* vol. iii, p. 727 ff.

The next supplementary evidence is the sudden intrusion of red sandstone images at Gaya, Rajgir and Nongarh in the Munghyr district of Bihar inscribed in the Kuṣāṇa characters, but not specifically mentioning any Kuṣāṇa king. The slate of Rajmahal has been found at various places in eastern U. P. but they belong to various periods. What is surprising is, that the red sandstone of Karri is found only in the Kuṣāṇa period with votive records in the Kuṣāṇa characterst. Then it disappears with the disintegration of the empire. The best instance is that of Rajgir. Maṇi Nāga and Svastikā Nāga were serpent divinities, who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Throughout Magadha, even at Rajgir, in making of Jaina, Hindu and Buddhist images the uniform use of Rajmahal stone is proved. But at Manivāra Maṭha, the temple of these twin Nāga divinities, the debris of which have yielded charcoal, clay, snakehoods, multispouted pottery, only this image of the rain-bestowing divinities of primitive Rajgir has been found. But that image was of mottled red sandstone of Karri, the style is of the great studios of Mathura, and finally the script with which it was inscribed was Kuṣāṇa[26]. In the Gupta period the studios of Mathura were still working; nevertheless, the reliefs that decorated the *stūpa* were of stucco and not red sandstone. The images of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* on the Vaibhāra hill are of local material—red sandstone of Mathura, remains within the limits of the Doab between the Ganges and Yamunā; never again to reappear on the soil of eastern India, in the wake of other empires that followed that of the Kuṣāṇas. It appears like a beaconlight in the surrounding gloom, just at a time when we suspect Magadha to have been occupied by the Kuṣāṇas.

Next comes the evidence of coins which have been found upto

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[24] *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* Patna, 1946, pp. 180 ff.

[25] *AR., ASI.,* 1906-07, p. 100 f.

[26] This image is now at the National Museum at New Delhi.

Ganjam in Orissa. On the general principle that gold and silver to some extent could be carried to distant lands without implying any political occupation we fail to explain the occurrence of copper coins. History indeed tells us that the establishment of the Kuṣāṇa empire actually led to the encouragement of commercial activities on an unprecedented scale. The result was the finds of thousands of Roman dinarius in the north-west and on the south-eastern coast. The copper coinage, however, was essentially meant for local consumption and its finds unmistakably indicate political domination.

The more intriguing point however is the occurrence of the impression of a gold coin of Huviṣka on the earth below the *Vajrāsana.* Unless and until, we admit that the original adamantine throne was replaced or repaired during the reign of Huviṣka; how can we explain the placing of a coin under the adamantine throne?

The Orissa finds however are of more than passing interest. The large finds of Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins along with the Imperial Kuṣāṇa issues cannot but fail to indicate that these so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins actually supplemented the Imperial Kuṣāṇa coins. The type however is most convincing. The history of Indian numismatics is full of such instances. Even the barbarians had to copy the Heracles sitting on rock with club. The Greek legend had to be continued on Śaka and Kuṣāṇa coins because of the existing practice in the areas. The 'Ardoksho' type of the Kuṣāṇas was continued by the early Gupta emperors. These Guptas after conquering the western Kṣatrapa kingdom of Ujjaini had to issue silver coins of a totally different fabric, design and type which was prevalent in Malava and Saurāṣtra. Therefore, the occurrence of the now unrecognizable figure of the Turki King on the coins of Orissa can have only one significance. The late R. D. Banerji very legitimately had propounded the theory that the 'Empire' of the 'Great Kuṣāṇas' included Orissa and the eastern seaboard as far as the Ṛṣikulya and Lāṅguliya rivers[27].

The Opposite Theory

The main objection to our theory is the alleged geographical positions of the various republican tribes. These were Āgreyas in the Hissar district, Yaudheyas in Rohtak, or Trigarttas of Jalandhar,

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[27] *History of Orissa,* vol. i, p. 115.

Rājanyas of Hoshiarpur and Śivis as well as Malavas in eastern Rajputana. In the first place, the location of the various tribes are neither final nor definite, specially the extent of their territory. The mere existence of these tribal states does not invalidate our theory about the wide extent of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. These little states, survival of a state of political conditions in India, which had outlived its utility, never having formed a compact mass or a grand alliance could not bar the way against Turki expansion. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions some of these tribes such as the Yaudheyas, Ārjunāyaṇas and Mālavas as being on his frontier. Their existence has not prevented us from crediting the Gupta monarch with having established an empire nor regarding him as an Indian Napoleon. Licchavis were another people who survived the Kuṣāṇa epoch and was proudly referred to by their 'daughter's son' and his 'Imperial' descendants.

The next objection is that some of the coins belonging to a line of kings with their names ending as 'mitra', have been found at Kauśāmbi, Mathura and in the ancient Pāñcāla country (modern Rohilkhand). These coins are generally ascribed to 2nd century or first century B.C.[28]. Their dates certainly do not in any way seem to be antagonistic to our ideas. To me, both the numismatic and epigraphic evidence tend to show that the Kuṣāṇa empire was a well knit but loosely organised institution. Its very beginning in Bactria was but a compromise, when the last Greek king was allowed to have his figure on the obverse and Kujula Kadphises the Kuṣāṇa *yavuga* had his name on the reverse. The existence of these autonomous tribal states in the vast plains of the Punjab or in the remote desert areas of Rajputana undoubtedly indicate a fallacy in our reasonings. The Kuṣāṇa *devaputras* were not certainly able to subjugate the whole of India.

Just as the Mughal empire did not reach its zenith till the time of Aurangzeb; just as the early Afghan rulers of Delhi could not extend their sway to East Bengal, Orissa and to more remote areas of India, where Princes and tribes were allowed to exist either by the payment of a tribute or acknowledging nominal suzerainty, these states were allowed to maintain independence. Secondly, the most time honoured mistake that has been made in assessing the palæography of the legends is to date them by our knowledge derived from stone inscriptions. The nature and quality of each of these materials impose certain amount of caution in adjudicating their dates. Die makers and stone cutters are two totally different propositions. While it is conceivable that a bad mason may be responsible for the peculiarities of a particular inscription; stereotyped forms are to be expected in a school of diemakers or engravers. A good novice will try to copy as exactly and as accurately as possible, the forms of the original, to secure the smiles of his seniors. What is more, metal is less tractable than stone and lent itself more easily to cursive forms. The overriding necessity however is to find out from the types, technique, style and findspots, to make a balanced, unbiassed and fair conclusion; allowing the evidence to establish the result, instead of the evidence being led as in a court of justice.

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[28] *JNSI.*, vol. iv, pp. 1, 17, 19, 23 & 123.

The numismatic, epipraphic, sculptural and literary evidence go to show that U. P., Bihar and possibly the Gangetic delta in Bengal, as well as Orissa were included for a time within the empire of Kaṇiṣka.

Adris Banerji

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29 J. E. van Lohuizen de Leuw, *The "Scythian Period,"* 1914 p. 362 ff.

An interesting Terracotta Plaque from Ahicchatrā (U.P.)

[PLATE 1]

Ahicchatrā, in Bareilly District, United Provinces, where excavations were conducted from 1940 to 1944 by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, yielded a large number of terracotta figurines and plaques. One of the plaques (2′2″ × 2′4′), which on stylistic grounds has been assigned to a period between A.D. 450 and 650, hails from a Śiva temple and has received elaborate description at the hands of Dr. V. S. Agrawala, who has published an interesting paper on the "Ahicchatrā terracottas" in the *Ancient India*[1]. The plaque reveals a battle scene in which two archers, similarly attired, equipped and mounted on chariots are engaged in an archery combat. Each chariot is drawn by two horses and has a driver (*sārathi*). The *sārathi* of the chariot on the left cannot be made out, as the part of the chariot where he had his seat is broken and missing. Between the chariots is a drummer (*dundubhika*) beating the war-*dundubhi*. The warriors wear each a high and elaborate turban, carry four quivers of arrows, two at the shoulders and two at the thigh-sides and a *channavīra* on the chest. What makes the scene interesting is that the emblem of each warrior is shown on the standard (*dhvaja*) of each, a boar on that of the left and a crescent (*candrakalā*) standing for the moon (*Soma*) on that of the right. The standard supporting *Soma* with its tripod stand can be noticed in the plaque, while the standard that supported the boar has fallen, the abacus-part below the boar alone remaining. A vertical line running below the boar indicates the background of the standard that originally existed. In both the banners the fastenings, flags and tassels can be seen fluttering. The battle scene with the occurrence of the boar was tempting enough to lead Dr. Agrawala into its identification as from the *Kirātārjunīya* story in which, according to him "Śiva as a wild hunter had to take up arms against Arjuna to establish his right to a boar." But the occurrence of the boar on the standard of the warrior on the left where it can be least

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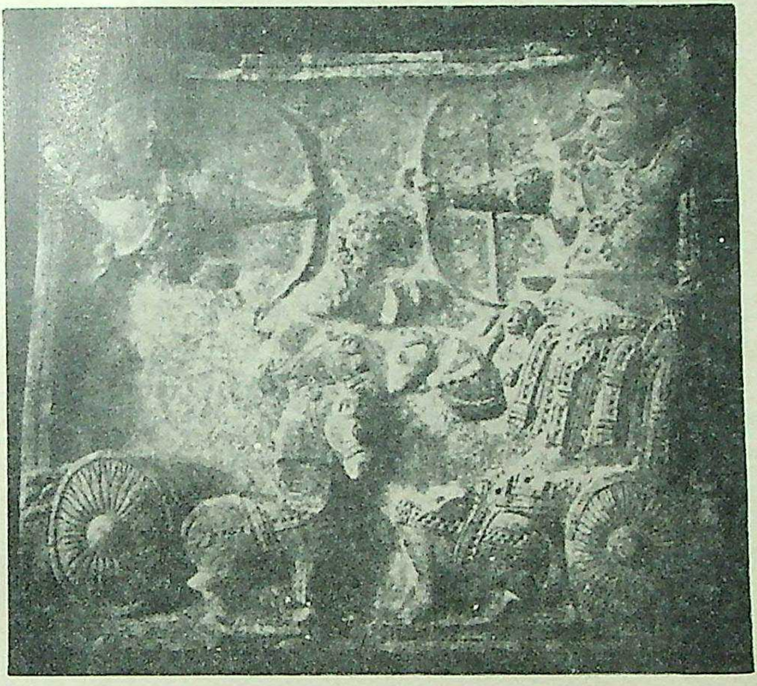
[1] No. 4. p. 171 and pl. LXVI.



FIGHT BETWEEN JAYADRATHA AND YUDHIṢṬHIRA
From a Śiva Temple in Ahicchatrā, U.P.

expected if the event related to the *Kirātārjunīya*, the standard on the right with the crescent-moon (*Soma*), which can neither mark Śiva nor Arjuna, the two chariots with the warriors standing one in each for which there is no place in the Kirāta-Arjuna feud, the similarity between the two fighters in dress, turban, *channavīra* and ornaments which go against the penitent (*tapasvī*) Arjuna's fight with Śiva in *Kirāta-veṣa* and the presence of a drummer in the centre of the combat as in a battle-field go against this identification.

The boar formed the emblem of Jayadratha[2] in the *Mahābhārata* and the crescent-moon or *Soma* marked the standard of Dharmaputra[3] among the Pāṇḍavas. The scene appears to have been drawn from the *Mahābhārata* and to relate to the epoch-making fight between Jayadratha and Dharmaputra, when the latter attempted to follow Abhimanyu into the *Padmavyūha* that Abhimanyu broke through. The *Mahābhārata* records that Jayadratha resisted the Pāṇḍava brothers successfully and prevented them from following Abhimanyu into the *vyūha* that he had penetrated, by virtue of a boon that Śiva granted him[4].

In view of the importance of the *Mahābhārata* event for the correct interpretation of the Ahicchatrā plaque in question, the Jayadratha-Dharmaputra feud against the background of the *Saṁśaptaka-vadha parva*, *Abhimanyu-vadha parva*, *Pratijñā parva* and *Jayadratha-vadha parva* of the *Droṇa Parva* is described below: —

When at Kurukṣetra, Arjuna, accompanied by Kṛṣṇa, had gone against the Saṁśaptaka hosts, leaving the charge of the battle in the hands of Dharmaputra and his other brothers. Droṇa arranged his troops in a circular array (*padma-vyūha*) and exerted himself to capture Dharmaputra. Dharmaputra resisted Droṇa and his array by dispensing his troops in a counter-array. The impregnability of Droṇa's array and the superior onslaught of Droṇa's troops began to tell upon the Pāṇḍava troops soon who were not even able to look at Droṇa's divisions, not to speak of breaking through the circular array (*padma-vyūha*) in which Droṇa had arranged them. When Dharmaputra was thus in despair it struck him that Abhimanyu, whose valour was not inferior to that of Vāsudeva's son but perhaps superior to that of his sire Arjuna himself, could alone check Droṇa's onslaught and break through the *padma-vyūha*. Entrusting this heavy task on the young shoulders of Subhadrā's son (i.e. Abhimanyu), Dharmaputra encouraged him thus:—"O Abhimanyu! you, or Arjuna, or Kṛṣṇa or Pradyumna, can penetrate into the *padma-vyūha*. I do not find a fifth man who can do it. Smite down this array of Droṇa so that your father Arjuna may not have reason to reproach us when he returns from the fight with the Saṁśaptakas. It behoves you to grant the boon that your sires, your uncles and all these troops beg of you''[5]

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[2] *Mahābhārata, Bhīshma parva*, XVII, v-30.

[3] *Ibid., Droṇa parva*, XXIII, v-81.

[4] *Ibid., Droṇa*, ch. LXXIII, vv. 1-12.

Abhimanyu, though in his teens, gladly undertook this task, after duly apprising Dharmaputra that Arjuna had taught him how to penetrate the *padma-vyūha* but that he did not know how to get out of the *vyūha*, if per chance any danger should overtake him within. Dharmaputra assured the boy as—"Pierce this array, create an opening for us. Pursuing the track you shall create, we will follow you closely and protect you from all sides[6]''.

Abhimanyu needed no further assurance and cut through the enemy's array (*vyūha*) with the following war-cry in his mouth:—

> *Nāhaṁ Pārthena jātaḥ syām naca jātaḥ Subhadrayā/*
> *Yadi me saṁyuge kaścit jīvito nādya mucyate//*[7]
>
> "I will not consider myself as begotten of Arjuna, or born of Subhadrā, if today, encountering me in the battle-field, any foe escapes with his life''.

He fulfilled the task that Dharmaputra entrusted to him, and slaughtered his foes so very quickly and surely that none stayed in the battle-field except Jayadratha, King of the Sindhus, who placing himself in the opening created by Abhimanyu in the *vyūha*, checked the entry of Dharmaputra and his troops so very successfully that Dharmaputra and his troops could not follow Abhimanyu, much less protect him on all sides or rescue him when within the *vyūha*. Six generals of Duryodhana—Droṇa, Kṛpa, Asvatthāmā, Karṇa, Kṛtavarman and the king of the Kośalas, all great warriors of course (*Rathāḥ*), surrounded him gave him an unfair battle and cut him down. With tremendous odds against him and surrounded by six great warriors as he was, Abhimanyu fell down dead under the last and fatal blow from the club of Duḥśāsana's son, who now joined Abhimanyu's assailants.

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[5] *Mahābhārata, Droṇa parva, adhyāya* 35, vv. 14-17.

[6] *Ibid.*, vv. 20-21.

[7] *Ibid.*, v. 27.

When Dharmaputra led the army on the day that Abhimanyu was to penetrate the *padma-vyūha*, people were astonished to note such a display by him of martial valour and leadership that it finds due mention made by Dhṛtarāṣṭra in *Droṇa parva, adhyāya* 24, vv. 3-4.

> *Dīrgham viproṣitaḥ kālam = araṇye jaṭilo' jinī/*
> *Ajñātaścaiva lokasya vijahāra Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ//*
> *Sa eva mahatīm senām samāvartayadāhave/*
> *Kimanyad = daivasamyogān-mama putrābhavāya ca//*
>
> "Even that Yudhiṣṭhira, who wandered long in exile in the forests, with matted locks and deer-skin and also had to wander *incognito*, is now leading this mighty army in battle! Nothing but evil can befall my son through this adverse influence of Fate!"

In his hands Dharmaputra held a bow called Mahendra[8] while his standard bore the emblem of the moon surrounded by the planets[9]. Though Dharmaputra fought with fury, neither he nor his brothers (excepting Arjuna) nor the Matsyas, the Kekayas and the Pāñcālas could resist Jayadratha nor remove him from the rent created by Abhimanyu in the *vyūha* which he was effectively blockading against them standing on a single car and single-handed. Everyone from the Pāṇḍava-army who tried to penetrate through Droṇa's *vyūha* in the wake of the rent created by Abhimanyu was checked by Jayadratha in consequence of a boon that the latter had obtained from Mahādeva. Once Jayadratha abducted Draupadī when her husbands were away in the forest. Arjuna and Bhima gave hot chase and rescued her after defeating Jayadratha. Bhīma further humiliated him by shaving off his hair on the head with a *nārāca* but took care to leave five patches of hair on his head in an ironic token that they were spared by the five brothers as an act of clemency. In that condition Bhīma dragged him before Dharma and Draupadī and forced him to seek their forgiveness. Unable to forget this humiliation Jayadratha did severe penance and propitiated Mahādeva, who pleased, asked him to demand the boon he liked. Jayadratha's boon was that he should be able to check in battle on a single car and single handed, the Pāṇḍavas. The god answered: "O Jayadratha! So be it for a day, except in the case of Dhanañjaya (Arjuna). You shall vanquish in battle the other four Pāṇḍavas for a day[10]".

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[8] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 92.

[9] *Ibid.*, v. 85—

dhvajam tu Kururājasya Pāṇḍavasya mahaujasaḥ/
dṛṣṭavān = asmi . sauvarṇam Somaṁ grahagaṇānvitam//

The *padma-vyūha*, and Abhimanyu's entry into it followed by the attempt of the four Pāṇḍavas under the leadership of Dharmaputra afforded Jayadratha the long cherished opportunity to stand in the breach of the *vyūha*, vanquish for a day Dharmaputra and his brothers *minus* Arjuna and enable Abhimanyu's assailants within the *vyūha* to make short work of that young warrior-son of Arjuna. Sañjaya describes graphically the victorious form and battle array of Jayadratha, who rode on a splendid car resembling an aerial castle with a mighty standard decked with the device of an argentine boar.[11] And Dharmaputra offered battle and assailed him with fury and anxiety for Abhimanyu, whom he could not follow into the *vyūha* as promised, so powerful was Jayadratha's defence. What followed was the unfair annihilation and death of Abhimanyu within the *vyūha* and the lamentation of Dharmaputra which Arjuna heard on his return in the night to camp. Arjuna made instantly a formidable vow to slay Jayadratha before sun-set on the following day, failing which he would commit suicide by entering into blazing fire.[12] On hearing this vow Jayadratha offered to leave the battle-field the next day and the service of Duryodhana unless he was promised protection by Droṇa and Aśvatthāmā. Droṇa put him in an invincible array and gave him protection by placing Karṇa, Asvatthāmā, Bhūriśravas, Kṛpa, Vṛṣasena, and the Madra King in the van of the array. Arjuna found it difficult to get at Jayadratha, who, desirous of saving his life, was placed in the rear amidst the six warriors mentioned above, without vanquishing all of whom Arjuna could never get access to Jayadratha. Kṛṣṇa employed a ruse and created a mock sun-set by means of his Yoga-prowess. A veil of darkness covered the Sun. Now Jayadratha came out of his hiding place, thinking that the Sun had set, looked back with relief and was enjoying the spectable of the setting Sun, when at Kṛṣṇa's bidding Arjuna got ready. And Kṛṣṇa releasing forthwith the veil of darkness, the Sun appeared again as on the point of going to the western hills. Instantaneously and at Kṛṣṇa's bidding Arjuna shot forth a shaft from his *gāṇḍīva* which snatched away the head of Jayadratha and tossed it into the lap of his father Vṛddhakṣatra, who was then seated in his evening meditation and did not notice it. When Vṛddhakṣatra rose, Jayadratha's head rolled down and as it reached the earth the head of his father cracked into pieces. This was by virtue of a boon that whosoever caused Jayadratha's head to fall on the earth, his own head will crack into pieces[13].

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[10] *Ibid.*, adh. 42, vv. 14-21.

Pāṇḍaveyān ahaṁ saṁkhye bhīmavīryaparākramān/
vārayeyam rathenaikaḥ samastāniti Bhārata//19//
Dadāmi te varaṁ saumya vinā Pārthaṁ Dhanañjayam/
vārayiṣyasi saṁgrāme caturaḥ Pāṇḍunandanān//20//
ekāhamiti Rājendra tatraivāntaradhīyata/

[11] *Mahābhārata, Droṇa, adh.* 43, v. 3—

Tasyābhy=aśobhayat ketur=vārāho rājato mahān//

[12] *Mahābhārata, Droṇa, adh.* 73; vv. 27-29, 53—

Satyaṁ vaḥ pratijānāmi śvo'smi hantā Jayadratham//27//
Pāpam bālavadhe hetuṁ śvo'smi hantā Jayadratham//29//
Yadyasmin na hate pāpe sūryo'stam=upayāsyati/
ihaiva sampraveṣṭāham jvalitaṁ jātavedasam//53//

Applying the details given above to the plaque it is easy to make out:—

1. the *varāha* standard of Jayadratha on the left and the crescent-moon standard of Dharmaputra on the right and to determine the fighters as Jayadratha on the left and Dharmaputra on the right,
2. that both the fighters are in a deadly-combat with resolve, fury and self confidence reflected in their faces, the justification for such feelings in the case of Jayadratha being his knowledge of the boon granted to him by Śiva for a day's victory over the Pāṇḍavas *minus* Arjuna, and in the case of Dharmaputra being his anxiety to enter the breach in the *vyūha* effected by Abhimanyu and protect

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[13] *Mahābhārata, Droṇa, adh.* 147, vv. 63-74; *adh.* 148, vv. 18-23.

Abhimanyu and his confidence of easy victory over the blockading Jayadratha whom he calls 'puny' (*kṣudra*)[14], and

3. that the plaque reveals great care that the artist took to juxtapose the fighters including their weapons, ornaments, dress, hands, faces (including the angle of faces), and their chariots, horses and the chariot-wheels on either side of a drummer aligned in the centre and presenting a frontal study while the fighters offer a side study.

Surely it was a day of triumph for Jayadratha fortified as he was by Śiva's boon, while to Dharmaputra it was an equally important day when he should fight, however disinclined he may be to fight, not so much because he was the leader of the Pāṇḍava army and much more so in the absence of Arjuna who was busy elsewhere annihilating the Samśaptakas, but also or mainly because of his supreme need of the moment to rush into the *vyūha* for the promised protection of Abhimanyu. Affection for his brother's son Abhimanyu, moral obligation to render him the promised aid, and fear from Arjuna's reproaches should any mishap over-take his beloved son Abhimanyu, coupled with his own responsibility as the leader of the army for the day in the absence of his valorous brother Arjuna —all these have combined to make the ascetic-king Ajātaśatru *alias* Dharmaputra achieve the antithesis of the defiant, valiant fighter Yudhiṣṭhira.

The *Mahābhārata* records that a sacrificial stake (*yūpa*) with the moon (Candra) marked the standard of King Saumadatti. As such one may wonder if the standard of the fighter on the right, whom I have identified as Dharmaputra cannot be of Saumadatti. Against this view stand the facts that Saumadatti and Jayadratha were friends in Duryodhana's service, that Saumadatti's opponent in the Pāṇḍava army was Sātyaki whose standard bore a lion and that there is no *yūpa* or sacrificial stake below the Candra in the plaque but the staff-part of a standard.

Such is indeed the spirit of the terracotta plaque from Ahicchatrā which, when interpreted in the light of the *Mahābhārata* event discussed above, makes it (both its *intent* and *content*) as one of high epic, iconographic and artistic importance.

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[14] *Ibid*,, 73, v-9—

Jātaḥ Saindhavako rājā Kṣudras-tāta Jayadrathaḥ/
Varadānena Rudrasya sarvān naḥ samavārayat //9//

In his anxiety to bring the scene on the plaque nearer to historic times, Dr. Agrawala has made an alternative suggestion wholly gratuitous, viz.,that the fight is perhaps one between Harṣa of Kanauj, under whose influence Ahicchatrā came, and a Cāḷukya king, either Vinayāditya Satyāśraya (688-95 A.D.) or Pulakeśin. This identification is also defective as the boar-crest of the Cāḷukya alone is accounted for but not the crescent-moon standard of the opponent. Nor should we forget that the plaque may be earlier than the event of Harṣa-Cāḷukya encounter as Dr. Agrawala assigns to the plaque a date with an upper limit of A.D. 450 and a lower limit of 650 A.D.

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

Śaśāṅka—King of Bengal

Śaśāṅka occupies an important place in the history of the North-eastern India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Our information about his reign is derived from his inscriptions and the writings of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Hiuen-tsang. To Bāṇa Śaśāṅka was the ruler of Gauḍa and to Hiuen-tsang, he was the king of Karnasuvarṇa which has been identified by Beveridge with Rāṅgamāṭi in the Murshidabad district, West Bengal.

The origin of the family of Śaśāṇka is still shrouded in mystery. Some scholars, however, have attempted to prove Śaśāṅka's connection with the Guptas of Northern India. Dr. Bühler[1] found in one of the mss of the *Harṣacarita* the name of the lord of Gauḍa as "Narendra Gupta". Mr. R. D. Banerjee[2] went so far as to declare that Śaśāṅka was the son or nephew of Mahāsena Gupta. It should be noted here that there is nothing on record which will enable us to connect him with the Imperial Guptas. But though he might not have been a 'Gupta' by birth, he proved himself a 'Gupta' in action. In other words he followed in the footsteps of the illustrious Guptas and attempted to revive their imperial tradition.

It is unfortunate that we know very little about the early life of Śaśāṅka. The Rohtasgarh Seal matrix bears an inscription reading Śrī Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅkadeva, i.e. illustrious Mahāsāmanta Śaśāṅkadeva. Scholars identify this Śaśāṅkadeva with Gauḍesvara Śaśāṅka, antagonist of Harṣavardhana. If this identification is correct, then it must be admitted that Śaśāṅka began his political career as a subordinate chief. It is very difficult to say who was his overlord. Dr. D. C. Ganguly[3] relying on Deo-Baranark Inscription says that "Śaśāṅka was a feudatory of Avantivarman and probably for a short period of his son Grahavarman." Dr. R. C. Majumdar[4] on the other hand thinks that Mahāsena Gupta of the later Gupta dynasty was the overlord of Śaśāṅka. Though it is not very easy to come to a definite conclusion, it appears that the last view is more probable. Mahāsena Gupta's dominions included Magadha and Gauḍa and it was he who saved the territories from the Maukhari menace. Mahāsena Gupta flourished towards the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. and as Śaśāṅka must have established himself as an independent king in Gauḍa and Magadha sometime before 606 A.D. there is every likelihood that he was a vassal of Mahāsena Gupta. How Śaśāṅka became independent whether by force or by diplomacy, we do not know. It may be true that Śaśāṅka who was ambitious and shrewd carefully watched the rivalry between the Later Guptas and the Maukharis and was waiting for an opportunity to fish in the troubled water of North-eastern politics. The hereditary struggle between the Later Guptas and the Maukharis weakened both the powers and it may be supposed that Śaśāṅka taking advantage of the weakness of the Later Guptas assumed independence some time before 606 A.D.

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[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I. p. 70.

[2] *Banglar Itihāsa*, p. 105.

[3] *IHQ.*, XII, p. 457.

[4] *History of Bengal* (edited by R. C. Majumdar), vol. I, p. 59.

After assuming independence Śaśāṅka devoted his signal ability and energy to the consolidation of his kingdom, which he already possessed before venturing upon new conquests. There is no definite evidence to prove whether Śaśāṅka could make himself lord of the whole of Bengal. On the other hand, the writings of Bāṇa and Hiuen-tsang, and the Rohtasgarh Seal matrix conclusively prove that Northern and Western Bengal as well as at least some portions of Behar were the integral parts of Śaśāṅka's empire. But Śaśāṅka was not the man to remain satisfied with what he acquired in Bengal and Behar. His imperial instinct urged him to extend his empire towards the South. That Śaśāṅka's attempt was successful is proved from the Ganjam Copperplate[5] dated 619 A.D. which states that Śaśāṅka was the overlord of Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Śrī-Mādhavarāja (ii) the king of Sailodbhava dynasty who ruled over Kongoda. Two copper plates[6] of Śaśāṅka discovered somewhere in Midnapur district, West Bengal, make it clear that Danda-bhukti (Datan in the Midnapur district) and Utkala-desa (Orissa) were under his sway.

Śaśāṅka probably after consolidating his power in West Bengal, Behar and Orissa turned his attention towards Northern India. In the last part of the sixth century A.D. Prabhākaravardhan of Thanesar was trying to assert his supremacy over Northern India. Under these circumstances the ambitious ruler of Gauḍa must have considered the lord of Thanesar as his rival and enemy. The kingdom of Thanesar made its position stronger by making matrimonial alliance with the Maukhari family. Grahavarman of the Maukhari dynasty married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhakaravardhan. Śaśāṅka was anxiously watching the formation of the alliances among his rivals. He knew that the Mālava King Deva Gupta who had hereditary enmity with the Maukharis became unfriendly towards Thanesar for its close alliance with the Maukharis. He probably made military alliance with Deva Gupta against the common enemies—the Puṣyabhutis and the Maukharis. Some scholars have expressed their views that there is nothing on record to prove that Śaśāṅka contracted an alliance with Deva Gupta against Thanesar and Kanauj. From a careful study of the contemporary sources, it appears most likely to us that Śaśāṅka made an alliance with Deva Gupta against Thanesar and Kanauj; otherwise it would be difficult to explain Śaśāṅka's presence in the west just after the death of Prabhākaravardhan. Had there been no alliance between Malava King and Gauḍesvara, why the latter went towards the west just when the former attacked his rival, the Maukhari chief and killed him? Even if it is admitted for argument's sake that Śaśāṅka went to Kanauj without expecting any help from the Mālava King, why then did he retire from Kanauj after the death of his rival, Rājyavardhan? The real reason of his retirement from Kanauj was that the death of his ally (Deva Gupta) at the hands of Rājyavardhan upset the whole plan and so he retired from Kanauj. His real aim was to break the alliance that was formed against him and when that was done he returned to his kingdom, knowing fully well that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to control Kanauj from Bengal. There must have been a pre-arranged plan between Śaśāṅka and Deva Gupta for destroying the Puṣyabhuti-Maukhari supremacy over Northern India. Illness of Prabhākaravardhan gave Śaśāṅka and Deva Gupta the much-desired opportunity and they were not slow to take advantage of it. Deva Gupta whose ultimate object was the invasion of Thanesar, first attacked its ally Grahavarman, chief of Kanauj and after putting him to death confined his queen Rājyaśrī at Kanauj? It appears from a study of *Harṣacarita* that Deva Gupta most probably did not wait for Śaśāṅka and started for Thaneasar alone. Śaśāṅka after reaching Kanauj when he came to know that Deva Gupta had already left for Thanesar, proceeded towards that direction to help him. But before Śaśāṅka could meet his friend, Rājyavardhan defeated and killed Deva Gupta. But the victory of Rājyavardhan could not give him the desired object because we are told that he lost his life at the hands of Śaśāṅka.

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[5] *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 143.

[6] *History of Bengal*, vol. I, Additions and corrections.

Śaśāṅka-Rajyavardhan episode has been discussed by many scholars and two sets of opinion have come out of these discussions: V. A. Smith, C. V. Vaidya, Dr. R. G. Basak and Dr. D. C. Ganguly relying on Bāṇa and Hiuen-tsang think that Śaśāṅka treacherously murdered his antagonist Rājyavardhan. R. P. Chanda, R. D. Banerjee and Dr. R. C. Majumdar are of opinion that Bāna and Hiuen-tsang were yes-men of Harṣavardhan and so their statement on Śaśāṅka-Rājyavardhan episode should not be accepted. In their opinion Rājyavardhan was defeated in the battle and there was nothing 'unfair' in his death.

The whole episode is still shrouded in mystery and it is rather difficult to be definite. Though Bāṇa and Hiuen-tsang unite in denouncing Śaśāṅka for treacherously murdering Rājyavardhan, but they give different accounts of the incident. Bāṇa says[8] that Rājyavardhan "had been allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa and then weaponless, confiding and alone, despatched in his own quarter". But Bāṇa does not say anything about the nature of the allurement nor does he tell us why Rājyavardhan entered into enemy's camp without taking proper safeguards? Śaṅkara, the commentator of *Harṣacarita* who according to Dr. D. C. Ganguly flourished in the 14th century A.D. tells us that Rājyavardhan was offered the hand of Śaśāṅka's daughter and while the unfortunate king was enjoying the dinner party with his followers (Sānucarobhuñjān) in his enemy's camp, he was murdered by Śaśāṅka in disguise. Bāṇa says that Rājyvardhan was murdered when he went alone and defenceless to the enemy's camp whereas Śaśāṅka's statement makes it clear that Rājyavardhan went to the enemy's camp with his followers. Now - the question arises whether Śaṅkara's story is reliable or not. It appears to us that Rājyavardhan who was overwhelmed with grief

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[7] *Harṣa-carita*, Tr. 173.

[8] *Harṣa-carit*, Tr. p. 178.

on account of the great calamity that befell his family, could not be tempted to accept the hand of the enemy's daughter before rescuing his imprisoned sister. Futhermore, how this story was known only to Śaṅkara and not to contemporary persons including Harṣavardhan himself? Bāṇa's statement also is not reliable. According to Bāṇa Rājyavardhan went alone and defenceless to the enemy's camp. But how can we believe that the conqueror of the Huns who was well acquainted with the political affairs of the time did not take any precaution before entering into the enemy's camp? Rājyavardhan certainly knew that Śaśāṅka was not his friend and the real motive of Śaśāṅka was not unknown to him; so we cannot accept Bāṇa's statement that he went alone and defenceless to the enemy's camp and was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka.

Harṣavardhan's inscriptions state that Rājyavardhan gave up his life at the house of his enemy owing to his adherence to his promise (satyānurodhena). Harṣavardhan who was in a position to know more of the incident than Bāṇa and Hiuen-tsang does not bring any charge against Śaśāṅka in his inscriptions. Inscriptions relate that Rājyavardhan gave up his life owing to his adherence to his promise. What was that promise we do not know. But it is probable that his promise (i.e. duty) was to punish the enemy or enemies who killed his brother-in-law and confined his sister at Kanauj. He was successful against one of the enemies but lost his life at the hand of the other in a fair fight and that was why Harṣa's inscriptions record that Rājyavardhan gave up his life owing to his adherence to his promise. If Śaśāṅka would have taken recourse to treachery, Harṣa would have mentioned that incident in his inscription.

Hiuen-tsang's account also is not reliable. In one place the pilgrim[9] says that the ministers of Rājyavardhan were responsible for the murder of Rājyavardhan. In another place the same author tells us that the "latter (Rājya) soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka, the wicked king of Karnasuvarṇa in Eastern India, a persecutor of Buddhism." (Watters) How can we accept the statement of Hiuen-tsang who in one place made the ministers of Rājyavardhan responsible for his death and in another place he held Śaśāṅka responsible for Rājyavardhan's death?

[9] *Beal-records,* vol. I, pp. 210-11.

The most important question which arises in our mind in this connection is, why Śaśāṅka took recourse to treachery? The one possible explanation may be that Śaśāṅka probably had not sufficient strength at his command which the situation demanded and so he took recourse to treachery to fulfil his purpose. But the question is when he started for Kanauj to help his ally Deva Gupta, was it likely that he went there unprepared? Even if for argument's sake it is admitted that Śaśāṅka went to Kanauj not to help Deva Gupta, but to wage war alone, it becomes more unlikely that he was not strong enough to face his antagonist in an open battle. The king who started for a distant land either to help his ally or to extend his own dominions must have made every possible preparations for achieving his object. There is no reason to suppose that Śaśāṅka went to Kanauj without being prepared.

Had Śaśāṅka been a weak king why Harṣavardhan who was more powerful than his elder brother and who took a solemn vow to punish Śaśāṅka[10] could not do anything against Śaśāṅka? When Śaśāṅka started for Kanauj to join his ally, he went there fully equipped and so no question of his avoiding face to face fight with his enemies could arise. On the other hand Rājyavardhan who proceeded with ten thousand[11] cavalry must have lost a considerable portion of his army in his encounter with Deva Gupta and a section of his army under Bhandi was sent back along with the captured forces of Malwa to Thanesar. When thus the army of Rājyavardhan was reduced Śaśāṅka who came to join Deva Gupta, suddenly attacked Rājyavardhan. Rājyavardhan was not probably prepared for a fresh fight on account of his reduced army. But though he was attacked suddenly by Śaśāṅka he fought bravely in order to perform his duty and probably he was captured and later on put to death in the enemy's camp.

After the death of Rājyavardhan, Śaśāṅka also retired from Kanauj. If he went to Kanauj to extend his dominions without expecting any foreign help, he would not have certainly returned from that place after the death of his two rivals. The real reason, as already pointed out, was that Śaśāṅka realised that it was not possible for him alone to extablish his supremacy over Northern India, so he came to an understanding with Deva Gupta ; but the latter's death upset his plan and so he retired from Kanauj.

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[10] *Beal-records*, vol. I, p. 213.

[11] *Harṣa-carit*, Tr. pp.175.

The later career of Śaśāṅka is not clear to us. According to Arya-Mañjśrī-Mūlakalpa a king named 'Ha' defeated the king 'Soma'. Some scholars are inclined to identify 'Ha' with Harṣavardhan and 'Soma' with Śaśāṅka. If this identification is correct, then it appears that Harṣa defeated Śaśāṅka. But the Ganjam copper plate dated 619 A.D. rather shows that Śaśāṅka was in full enjoyment of his power up to that date. That Śaśāṅka was the ruler of Magadha at the time of his death is proved by the testimony of Hiuen-tsang himself[12].

When this great king of Bengal expired is not known to us. According to Arya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa Śaśāṅka's rule lasted for 17 years only. But this statement cannot be accepted in view of the fact that Śaśāṅka assumed independence some time before 606 A.D. and according to Hiuen-tsang's testimony his reign came to an end shortly before 637-8 A.D.

The image of Mahādeva on his coins shows that Śaśāṅka was a Śaiva. The Chinese pilgrim and the author of Arya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa have condemned Śaśāṅka as the bitter persecutor of the Buddhists. Speaking of Kuśīnagar, the pilgrim says that the Buddhists were expelled from the vihāra and the same author further adds that in Pāṭaliputra Śaśāṅka destroyed the footprints of Buddha. But the Chinese pilgrim found Buddhism in a flourishing condition in Karnasuvarṇa and in other places which were included within Śaśāṅka's empire. If Śaśāṅka was a persecutor of the Buddhists why did he allow the Buddhists of some places to practise their religious rites peacefully ? This suggests that Śaśāṅka was not a fanatic as the Buddhist authors would have us believe. The Buddhists in order to lower Śaśāṅka in the eyes of posterity brought these baseless charges against him. Similar instances are not wanting in Indian history. Badaoni[13] has brought charges against Akbar as a persecutor of Islam, though the Great Mogul never indulged in persecution. Not to speak of ancient and medieval writers, even the historians of the 19th and 20th centuries are sometimes found criticizing the rulers who do not belong to their church. Mr. R. D. Banerjee[14] severely criticizes Aśoka as an intolerant king and goes so far as to compare him with Aurangzeb. But Aśoka's inscriptions conclusively prove that he was the most liberal minded king known to history. If a modern Brahmin historian can call Aśoka a fanatic because he was a Buddhist, there is no wonder that the ancient Buddhist friendly writers of Harṣavardhan would call his rival who professed Śaivism, a bitter persecutor of the Buddhists.

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[12] *Watters,* pp. 115.

[13] *Badaoni,* vol. 11, pp. 301-7, 312.

Śaśāṅka had to suffer at the hands of hostile critics like Bāna and Hiuen-tsang who had tarnished his fame. His case was like that of Philip of Macedon[15] whose name had been blackened and fame tarnished by the great hostile Athenian orator Demosthenes. But modern researches have proved it that Philip of Macedon was one of the remarkable persons of his time who raised Macedon to greatness and thus made possible the achievements of Alexander. Śaśāṅka too was one of the greatest personalities of India of his time who made Bengal strong and powerful and so rendered possible the revival of a greater empire under the Pālas. Had he been a mere 'wicked' and treacherous king as Bāna and Hiuen-tsang would have us believe, it would have been impossible for him to build up a mighty kingdom, in the east in an age of chaos and confusion which followed the downfall of the Gupta empire and to defy the league organised against him by Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman. The builder of a strong state should be endowed with higher qualities which would make him brave, diplomatic, shrewd and tolerant. A fanatic or a wicked person cannot win the love and respect of his subjects and without the goodwill of the governed the foundation of a state cannot be strong. And a state with a tottering foundation cannot withstand the foreign aggression. Had Śaśāṅka been a wicked king and a persecutor of the Buddhists, he could not have received the cooperation of his subjects and without their cooperation he could not have resisted the attacks on his kingdom from both East and West.

Such in outline is the career of Śaśāṅka. Though details of his life and activities are still lacking, yet with the materials at our disposal it is not impossible to form an estimate of his character and achievements. Śaśāṅka is one of the most interesting personalities in the history of India. From a mere Mahāsāmanta he elevated himself by his own efforts to the position of an independent sovereign ruling over Gauḍa, Rāḍha, Utkala and Kongoda. He had an iron will, a genius for command and diplomatic dexterity. As a soldier he equalled, if not excelled his contemporaries in dash and leadership.

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[14] *Pre-historic and Ancient India*, pp. 92.

[15] Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 717, 735.

Śaśāṅka was the first historical sovereign of Bengal who wanted to establish the supremacy of Bengal over a considerable portion of India and to make himself an ekarāṭ. Unfortunately his aims were only partially fulfilled because time had not yet come when Bengal's supremacy would be acknowledged by the other states. But it must be said to the credit of Śaśāṅka that inspite of his partial failure it was he who first raised Bengal to new heights of power and prestige which foreshadowed the vast empire of the Pālas and that was his *magnum opus*. In other words Śaśāṅka left the imperial claim for his successors Dharmapāla and Devapāla to carry through at a later age with success. His career justifies the saying "*Fortes fortuna juvat*."[16] He was neither a monster of iniquity nor an ideal virtuous monarch, but an able politician, a superb diplomat, an expert soldier and the founder of the Bengal monarchy.

S. K. BANERJEE

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[16] *Sāhasṃ bhajate Lakṣmī.*

MISCELLANY

Harṣa's Accession and the Harṣa Era.

In the accounts of his Indian travels, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang records: "As soon as Śilāditya (Harṣa) became ruler he got together a great army and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the Five Indias. Then having enlarged his territory he increased his army bringing the elephant corps upto 60,000 and the cavalry to 100,000 and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon" (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. I, p. 343).

In connection with the above passage, Watters remarks (*op. cit.*, pp. 346-47), "We find two dates for the death of king Śīlāditya, Chinese history placing it in the year A D. 648 and the Life of Hiuen Tsang by Hwui Li in 655. Taking thirty-six years as the duration of his reign we thus have 612 or 619 as the date of his accession. The latter date agrees with a Chinese statement that the troubles in India which led to Śīlāditya's reign took place in the reign of T'ang Kao Tsu (A.D. 618 to 627). But the date 648, or rather 647, is perhaps the correct one. It must have been in 641 or 642 that, in conversation with our pilgrim as given in the Life, Śīlāditya stated that he had been sovereign for above thirty years. This also gives 612 for the year of his accession, and the addition of six years to the thirty gives 648 as the date of his death. But the Chinese envoy despatched in the early part of that year found, on his arrival in the country, the king dead and a usurper on the throne. Moreover it was in 648 that Yuan-chwang submitted his records to T'ai Tsung, and Śīlāditya must have been dead before this work was drawn up in its present form."

The statement of the Life that Harṣa Śīlāditya died in 655 A.D. and another Chinese statement that the King's reign followed some date in 618-27 A.D. have rightly been rejected by Watters although half-heartedly. But his supposition that Hiuen Tsang knew the date of Harṣa's death before submitting his Records to the Chinese emperor in 648 A.D. seems to be entirely unwarranted. It is impossible to think that anybody in China knew the date of Harṣa's death before the return of Wang Hiuen-Tse's mission considerably after that event. At least there is no proof in support of such a conjecture. It is therefore more reasonable to think that the thirty-six years given by Hiuen Tsang as the duration of Harṣa's reign covers actually the period from his accession to 642 A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim was staying with him and not the period from his accession to his death. It seems therefore that, according to Hiuen Tsang's statement in question, Harṣa ascended the throne thirty-six years before 642 A.D., i.e., in 606 A.D.

According to Alberuni (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, p. 5), an era of Harṣa "is used in Mathurā and the country of Kanoj. Between Śrī-Harṣa (i.e. the Harṣa era) and Vikramāditya (i.e. the Vikrama era) there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However in the Kashmirian Calendar I have read that Śrī-Harṣa (i.e. the Harṣa era) was 664 years later than Vikramāditya (i.e. the Vikrama era). In face of this descrepancy I am in perfect uncertainty which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information." The passage clearly says that Alberuni heard of one Harṣa era with its epoch 400 years before the start of the Vikrama era (i.e. in 457 B.C.) and of another Harṣa era having its epoch 664 year after the commencement of the Vikrama Saṁvat (i.e. in 606 A.D.). Nothing can possibly be made out of the fact (as has been attempted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *IHQ.*, XVII, pp. 183 ff) that Alberuni mentions only the Harṣa era of 457 B.C. and not the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. when he compares the epochs of the various Indian eras with the test year 400 of the era of Yazdajird (*op. cit.*, p. 7). Because he had already referred to the two conflicting traditions regarding the epoch of the Harṣa era as well as to his doubts about them and apparently rejected at least tentatively the 606 A.D. tradition in favour of the 457 B.C. tradition. The passage quoted above cannot be regarded as vague, uncertain or ambiguous and unquestionably shows that Alberuni heard of a Harṣa era starting from 606 A.D., no doubt the year of accession of an Indian monarch named Harṣa. Now the combined strength of the statements of Hiuen Tsang and Alberuni discussed above certainly supports the conclusion that king Harṣa, a contemporary of Calukya Pulakeśin II (*circa* 609-42 A.D.) and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who travelled in India in 629-45 A.D., ascended the throne in 606 A.D. and that an era called the Harṣa era was counted from that date.

It may be argued (cf. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*) that the foundation of an era is not attributed to Harṣa either by Bāṇa or by Hiuen Tsang and that there was nobody to continue the regnal reckoning of Harṣa to let it develop into an era. As to the first part of the argument, it may be pointed out that, if Harṣa did not declare the foundation of an era by beat of drums and if his regnal reckoning, continued by his successors, developed into an era, as it seems to have been, there is hardly any question of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang mentioning the foundation of the Harṣa era. As regards the second part of the argument, it may be said that, if Harṣa did not leave any strong line of successors of his own family, his subordinates, who later became independent monarchs, could have continued his regnal reckoning to give it the character of an era. That such was actually the case is definitely suggested by the inscriptions of the so-called Later Guptas. There is no doubt that the Later Gupta prince Mādhavagupta, son of Mahāsenagupta, was a subordinate of Harṣa. This is not only suggested by the implication of the *Harṣacarita* that the two brothers. the Mālava princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta (sons of Mahāsenagupta), took shelter at the Thanesar court during the rule of Harṣa's father Prabhākaravardhana (apparently after Mahāsenagupta's death when the throne of Mālava was usurped by Devagupta) but also by the passage *śrī-Harṣadeva-nija-saṁgama-vāñchayā* in the description of Mādhavagupta in verse 18 of the damaged Aphsad inscription of his son Ādityasena, king of Magadha[1]. It is not impossible that Ādityasena, who later claimed imperial dignity (cf. his description *śāstā samudr-ānta-vasundharāyā yashṭ=āśvamedha-ādya mahākratūnām* in the Vaidyanātha temple inscription, *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 211), began his life as a feudatory of Harṣa. Thus the use of the Harṣa era in the Shahpur inscription, (*CII.* vol. III, p. 210) of the year 66 falling in Ādityasena's reign is the most easily explained. Magadha formed a part of Harṣa's empire and was no doubt using the regnal reckoning of that monarch during his reign. The Shahpur inscription shows that the Later Gupta successors of Harṣa in that country continued to use the same reckoning at least for some years after the end of Harṣa's rule. It has been conjectured (cf. Majumdar, *loc. cit.*) that the Shahpur inscription is dated in the Nepal era (first used by Aṁśuvarman) because the daughter of Ādityasena's daughter (married to a Maukhari chief) was married to a king of Nepal. The suggestion which is rather strange seems to conflict with the imperial position claimed by Ādityasena and certainly looks absurd when we note that the Shahpur inscription is a private document and not an official Later Gupta charter. Of course it may be conjectured that the private individual responsible for the Shahpur inscription came to south Bihar from Nepal and used the era prevalent in his home country. But I have no doubt that the suggestion regarding the use of the Harṣa era in the Shahpur inscription is far more easily explained. Moreover, many scholars believe that the Nepal era in question (that was first used in Nepal by Aṁśuvarman who flourished in the first half on the 7th century) is no other than the Harṣa era of 606 A.D. and I am inclined to support them.

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[1] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 204. The facts that Mahāsenagupta was a *Mālava-rāja* while his grandson Ādityasena flourished in Bihar with the title 'lord of Magadha' seems to suggest that Harṣa had placed his protégé Mādhavagupta over some parts of Bihar. See *JRASB., Letters*, vol. XI, 1945, pp. 69-74.

According to the Nepalese *Vaṁśāvalīs*, "immediately before the accession of Aṁśuvarman, Vikramāditya came to the country (Nepal) and established his era there" (Tripathi, *Hist. Kanauj*, p. 94). It has been suggested that by Vikramāditya the chroniclers meant Harṣa Śīlāditya as at this period there was no other Indian monarch capable of extending his influence in Nepal. This suggestion seems to be supported by the fact that in Indian tradition Harṣa Śīlāditya was persistently confused with the traditional Śakāri Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, probably because Harṣa was the founder of an era like the traditional originator of the Vikrama Saṁvat. We have to remember in this connection that the *Bhāvabodhinī* of the 17th century author Madhusūdana says, *Mālava-rājasy=ojjayinī-rājadhānīkasya kavi-jana-mūrdhanyasya Ratnāvaly-ākhya-nāṭikā-karttur=mahārāja-śrī-Harṣasya* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. II, pp. 127-28; Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 184). That the confusion is much earlier than the seventeenth century is proved by Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* composed about the middle of the twelfth century. Cf. *Rāj. tar.*, III, verses 125, 128:

Tatr=ānehasy=Ujjayinyāṁ śrīmān=Harsh-āpar-ābhidhaḥ,

ekacchatraś = chakravarttī Vikramāditya ity = abhūt.
Mlecch-occhedāya vasudhāṁ Harer = avatariṣyataḥ,
Śakān vināśya yen = āsau kārya-bhāro laghūkṛitaḥ.

Cf. also *ibid.*, II, 7:

Idaṁ sva-bheda-vidhuraṁ Harṣ-ādīnāṁ dharābhujām,
kañcit-kālam = abhūd = bhojyaṁ tataḥ prabhṛti maṇḍalam.

Thus Indian tradition seems to speak of Harṣa indirectly as the founder of an era exactly as the celebrated Vikramāditya.

The only argument of any importance that has been offered against the attribution of Harṣa's accession to 606 A.D., which as we have seen, is supported by Alberuni and Hiuen Tsang's Records, is based on the life of Hiuen Tsang which is admittedly of lesser authenticity than the Records. But even in this case, the evidence seems to have been misunderstood. According to the Life (Beal's translation, pp. 183-84), Harṣa told Hiuen Tsang on the eve of the religious assembly at Prayāga (Allahabad) about the beginning of 643 A.D. that he "has been lord of India for thirty years and more" and further that he had "completed five of these assemblies" and was "about to celebrate the sixth." It has been claimed that, as the assembly was celebrated every five years, both the statements agree in placing Harṣa's accession thirty years before 643, i.e. about 612 or 613 A.D.

Unfortunately the above conclusion totally ignores the facts that, at his accession, neither was Harṣa a "lord of India" (i.e. a *cakravarttin* or *sārvabhauma* monarch or an emperor[2]) nor did the Allahabad region, where Harṣa's conversation with the Chinese pilgrim is said to have taken place from a part of his dominions. With the death of his elder brother Rājyavardhana, only the small kingdom of Thanesar about the eastern part of the Punjab came into Harṣa's possession. The dominions of the Maukharis covering the major parts of the U.P. and Bihar were then under the occupation of the king of Mālava (Devagupta) and his ally Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa. Harṣa came to free the dominions of his Maukhari relatives from the Mālava and Gauḍa enemies, which work may have taken him no less than six years sa suggested by a statement of Hiuen Tsang quoted above. In any case it was apparently impossible for Harṣa to declare himself lord of the Maukhari dominions at his accession as that would have alienated the partisans of the late Maukhari king Grahavarman, killed by the Mālavas and the Gauḍas. That he formally declared himself lord of the erstwhile Maukhari dominions in the U.P. and Bihar a few years later seems also to be clear from the following statement in Hiuen Tsang's Records: "The Bodhisattva promised him secret help but warned him not to occupy the actual throne and not to use the title *Mahārāja*. Thereupon Harṣavardhana became king of Kanauj (i.e. the former Maukhari capital) with the title *Rājaputra* and the style *Śilāditya*" (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 343). It is clear that Harṣa of Thanesar offered to drive the Mālavas and Gauḍas out of the Maukhari dominions at first as a relative and ally of the late Maukhari king Grahavarman but that he formally declared himself master of the Maukhari empire after having freed it from the Mālava and Gauḍa enemies. A confused statement of Hiuen Tsang (who seems wrongly to represent Harṣa's elder brother Rājyavardhana as a king of Kanauj) says that "the statesmen of Kanauj, on the advice of their leading man Bāni or Vāni, invited Harṣavardhana to become their sovereign and that the prince at first "modestly made excuses and seemed unwilling to comply with their request" (Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 343). This at least shows that the formal occupation of the Maukhari throne by Harṣa took place some time later when he had become king of Thanesar after his brother's death. The formal occupation of the Maukhari empire and the attainment of imperial dignity by Harṣa appear to have followed his success against the Gauḍas and Mālavas in a protracted war lasting for about six years Hiuen Tsang says that Harṣa "waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the Five Indias (or had brought the Five Indias under allegiance)," that is to say that he became 'an emperor' six years after his accession. As he got the throne of Thanesar in 606 A.D., he thus seems to have obtained imperial dignity in 612 A.D. This seems to be corroborated by the Life according to which Harṣa had ruled as "lord of India," i e. as an emperor, for over thirty years by 643 A.D. The first quinquennial assembly at Prayāga, the sixth of which took place about the beginning of 643 A.D., could have been celebrated only after Harṣa had become formally anointed as the emperor of the erstwhile Maukhari realm covering the U. P. and Bihar, in which

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[2] For the conception of the *cakravartin* and his *kṣetra*, see *JRASB.*, Letters, vol. V, 1939, pp. 407 ff.

Prayāga was situated. As a king of the small kingdom of Thanesar about the eastern part of the Punjab he had nothing to do with the Allahabad region.

I therefore do not find any evidence worth the name against the generally accepted view that, Harṣa ascended the throne of Thanesar (not the imperial throne of the Maukharis at Kanauj where he later transferred his capital about 612 A.D.) in 606 A.D. which was the commencement of an era named after him at least in later times.

D. C. SIRCAR

The Constitution of the Licchavīs and the Śākyas*

Nearly half a century ago Rhys Davids brought to our notice the existence of republican clans in ancient India[1]. Since then many students of Indian history have discussed this interesting problem and have thrown fresh light upon it.

In two previous issues of this Journal Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has subjected the whole question to a critical analysis of evidence[2], and differed from the views of almost all the preceding writers on the subject including the author of the present paper[3]. I propose to deal briefly with the fundamental principles assumed by Dr. Ghoshal and some of his general conclusions. But before proceeding further I would like to emphasise that the readers of Dr. Ghoshal's articles would be well advised to read the original writings of the authors criticised by him, as the brief quotations from these do not always convey a proper idea of their opinion and conclusions.

The fundamental principle on which the whole contention of Dr. Ghoshal rests is the comparative value of the Jātakas as evidence for the constitution of the Licchavis and the Śākyas. It is well known that we get from the Jātakas (and other later literature) many details about their constitution which we do not find in the early canonical literature. This constitutes, in the opinion of Dr. Ghoshal,

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* This paper was submitted to the XVIth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

[1] *Buddhist India*, Ch. II.

[2] *IHQ.*, XX. 334 ff; XXI, 1 ff.

[3] My views are set forth in *'Corporate Life in Ancient India'* Second Edition, pp. 223 ff.

"grave reasons for doubting the genuineness of the later account" (p. 336). Fortunately, Dr. Ghoshal later contradicts himself as the following remarks in his article on the Śākyas would show: —

"We must, however, admit that according to the fundamental canons of historical criticism *the late Jātaka evidence can only be accepted as authentic when it agrees, or at least is not in conflict with*, the earlier and more reliable testimony of the canon" (pp. 4-5).

The portion italicised by us shows the difference between the two standpoints of Dr. Ghoshal, and there can be hardly any question that the later statement represents the truth which, by the way, is too well known to need such an emphatic assertion by Dr. Ghoshal, and its frequent repetition in slightly differing forms.

We may now review the constitution of the Licchavis on the basis of this fundamental principle. In the first place, it will, I hope, be generally admitted, that as the details given in the Jātakas do not in any way contradict the earlier accounts in the canon, we have no reason to start with a doubt about its genuineness, as Dr. Ghoshal has done. Secondly, regarding the interpretation of the passage in the preamble to the Ekapanna Jātaka, Dr. Ghoshal introduces some new elements which are at best very doubtful. The meaning, hitherto generally accepted, is that in Vaiśālī "there were always seven thousand seven hundred and seven kings to govern the kingdom and a like number of viceroys, generals and treasurers." The interpretation of Jayaswal, rightly criticised by Dr. Ghoshal, suffers from the same defect as that of Dr. Ghoshal himself, for both read into the passage some characteristic features of the constitution which do not appear obvious to an ordinary man. There does not, for example, appear to be any valid reason for deducing from this passage, as Dr. Ghoshal has done, that there were 7707 *resident* nobles in Vaiśālī exercising sovereign power *for life* and there were other nobles, non-resident or occupying a less privileged position (p. 337).

On the basis of the generally accepted translation of the passage it has been held that the supreme assembly of the Licchavis consisted of 7707 members called *Rājā*, and as each of these had subordinate officials like viceroys, generals and treasurers, they were probably rulers of small administrative units. Dr. Ghoshal has severely criticised this view, and I would consider his arguments so far as they refer to the standpoint taken by me.

Dr. Ghoshal has questioned the analogy of the Licchavi constitution with the Cleisthenian constitution of Athens, to which I drew attention. Dr. Ghoshal has entirely missed the point. In his view the essence of this constitution was the election by the tribes, consisting of the inhabitants of different *demes*, of the council and the boards. As a matter of fact, the main object of the Cleisthenian constitution was, as clearly pointed out in *Cambridge Ancient History* (IV, 144), "the substitution of the *deme* for the clan" which "meant in effect the transition from the principle of kinship to that of locality, or residence." In other words the *demes* (or small districts between one and two hundred in number) formed the smallest administrative units of the city-state of Athens, and while each of these *demes* was a "corporation with officers, assemblies and corporate property" and with a *demarch* or President as its head, its representatives (a number fixed according to size) formed the Council of Five hundred which governed the whole state[4]. Now if, as inferred from the Jātaka passage quoted above, the city-state of Vaiśālī was ruled by a supreme assembly, whose members were also heads of small local units, with a staff of their own, the analogy of its constitution with that of the city-state of Athens, as devised by Cleisthenes, cannot be regarded as a farfetched one. The transition from the principle of kinship to that of locality, which was achieved in Athens by Cleisthenes, has also been traced in Roman history[5], and as similar circumstances not unoften produce similar results, it is not beyond the range of possibility that the Licchavi constitution also underwent a similar change. Thus while it is merely referred to as a *gaṇa* or a republican clan in the canonical texts, possibly its later transition is reflected in the Jātakas. But this is merely a suggestion, by the way, and does not touch the point at issue. For the description in the Jātakas does not go counter to the statement in the early canons that the Licchavis formed a *gaṇa*. Dr. Ghoshal has argued: "If indeed each *rājan* of the Licchavi state had his own administrative machinery fot his separate principality, the complete silence of the older canonical tradition about the same would be altogether inexplicable" (p. 338). Apart from the possibility of a later change hinted at above, we must remember that the canonical texts nowhere give an account of the Licchavi constitution or deal with the question as such. It is from incidental notices in connection with other topics that we derive some idea of the subject. The silence of the canonical texts is therefore nothing to be surprised at. Fortunately, we have now some positive testimony which practically demolishes the standpoint taken by Dr. Ghoshal. In an article contributed to the *B. C. Law Volume* (1. 134 ff), I have drawn attention to the fact that the recently discovered Vinaya texts of the Mūlasarvāstivādas give us much interesting information about the constitution of the Licchavis which we do not find in the Pāli Vinaya texts. There is no ground to suppose that the Mūlasarvāstivāda text is less authentic, or belongs to a later period, than the Pāli Vinaya text, yet some characteristic features of the Licchavi constitution (and society) which are emphasised in the former do not occur in the latter. In view of this, it would be hardly reasonable to infer anything about such constitution from the silence of the Pāli canonical texts.

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[4] Cf. also Bury, '*A History of Greece*', pp. 211-2.

[5] *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV. 144.

It may be incidentally mentioned here that the account in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya does not favour the supposition of Dr. Ghoshal that the number 7707 in the Jātaka passage refers to that of "the foundation-families of nobles taking up their abode at Vaiśālī." Dr. Ghoshal has criticised various writers for dismissing the number as a purely imaginary one. But, according to the new Vinaya text, Vaiśālī was at that time divided into three quarters having respectively 7000, 14,000 and 21,000 turrets with gold, silver and copper pinnacles, inhabited respectively by the high, middle, and low classes. These figures are all based upon the mystic figure 7 and obviously explain the genesis of the figure 7707 in the later Jātaka texts. The new Vinaya text does not also favour the view that the supreme assembly of the State consisted merely of the Licchavi nobles. For we find even new-comers to Vaiśālī not only admitted into the assembly but also elected to the highest post. It also demonstrates the popular character of the assembly, a view challenged by Dr. Ghoshal (p. 337). For it contains strong sentiments against hereditary privileges and enunciates the principle of free election by the *gaṇa* to all important posts, including that of the commander-in-chief which seems to be the highest in the State. The new Vinaya text refers to Videha as a kingdom, though in other early texts the Videhas and the Licchavis are regarded as having formed, with other republican tribes, the federation of the Vajjians[6]. It thus proves the possibility of constitutional changes which were reflected in different texts, even at an early period.

I doubt whether Dr. Ghoshal knew of this new Vinaya text when he wrote, and I can only hope that he will change his so-called fundamental principles, as well as his general view of the constitution of the Licchavis, if he reads it carefully. So far as the present topic is concerned I shall conclude by noticing only one further observation of Dr. Ghoshal. Referring to our view of the Licchavi constitution based on the Jātaka passage, he comments: "To base a definite conclusion on the authority of a single late uncorroborated text seems to be opposed to all canons of history." What little justification Dr. Ghoshal has for repeating his sermon on historical canons will appear from the following extract from my book to which he refers: "Although the introductory episodes of the Jātakas, from which the above accounts are taken, are undoubtedly of much later date than the events which they relate, we cannot altogether dismiss their accounts as unworthy of credit. Though we need not attach much importance to the concrete figures which they supply, the general system described by them may be accepted as not much divergent from actual state of affairs." It will be seen that no 'definite conclusion' was arrived at, but only a general picture was drawn with due safeguards. Curiously enough, although Dr. Ghoshal is so critical of others, he has no hesitation in accepting the figure 7707 for Licchavi *rājās* as correct, and drawing important conclusions from it, simply because the statement is repeated in another Jātaka text, presumably of the same late date and belonging to the same cycle of stories.

Much has been made by Dr. Ghoshal of the statement that these *rājās* and their officers lived at Vaiśālī. He has inferred from it, first, that they all lived in the capital city and not in the respective localities, and secondly, that in addition to 7707 *rājās* or nobles living in the capital there were others outside it. It is, however, to be remembered that the Licchavis had a city-state comprising Vaiśālī and the surrounding suburbs, and the probability is that the whole of this area was referred to as Vaiśālī.

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[6] *Buddhist India*, pp. 25-26.

We may now discuss the constitution of the Śākyas. Dr. Ghoshal admits "that according to the late Jātaka accounts the Śākya constitution was a republic with a sovereign clan-assembly and probably, though not certainly, a supreme Magistrate" (p. 4). But he tries to show that according to old canonical rexts there was a single permanent king among the Śākyas, and concludes that the later compilers (of the Jātakas) deliberately changed the monarchy into a republic in order to "assimilate the authentic constitution of the Śākyas to the most familiar type of ancient Indian republics" (p. 7).

Now we must remember that as in the case of the Licchavis, so in the case of the Śākyas, neither the canonical texts nor the Jātakas have preserved any account of their constitution as such, and all that we learn about it is from incidental notices. The theory of a deliberate attempt on the part of the later authorities to change the character of the constitution is, therefore, not easy to understand, and certainly difficult to accept. We must therefore see first of all whether it is not possible to reconcile the earlier and later evidence.

As Dr. Ghoshal himself admits, the canon contains several references to 'the assembly of the Śākyas' at *santhāgāra* (Assembly Hall), and that even outlying settlements of the Śākyas had their assemblies, (p. 6). This is a striking corroboration of what we find in the Jātakas. But Dr. Ghoshal holds that according to those old canonical texts there was only one king Bhaddiya among the Śākyas who is not only expressly stated as ruling over the Śākyas but 'also to have made over the kingdom to his heirs when he renounces the world.' Dr. Ghoshal admits that in one place Suddhodana, the father of Gautama Buddha, is also called the *rāja*, but he explains it away as simply due to an attempt "to bring Gautama's career into line with that of the previous Buddhas, three of whom are provided with royal fathers" (p. 6). It must be regarded as somewhat singular that the canonical texts should deliberately put a lie in the mouth of Buddha himself (for he himself describes his father as a *rājā*) about his father for no better reason than that three out of the six previous Buddhas had royal fathers. But once we admit that Suddhodana was a *rājā* like Bhaddiya, the whole structure raised by Dr. Ghoshal falls to the ground. For it supports the statement in the Jātakas and vindicates the position of Rhys Davids that the Śākya constitution consisted of a sovereign assembly with an elected chief bearing the title of *rājā*, a post held by both Suddhodana and Bhaddiya, and probably others. The *rājā*, referred to in the canon, cannot, therefore, like that in the Jātaka stories, mean a single permanent king but an elected chief. The reference to Bhaddiya's disposing of his '*rajjam*' need mean no more than the arrangement about the office or other privileges held by him. The *rajjam* may mean also his headship over a minor administrative unit as in the case of the Licchavis. Dr. Ghoshal, of course, rejects this theory on the usual grounds, but the reference to Śākya assemblies in localities other than Kapilavastu in the early canon and to *uparājas* in the Jātakas certainly makes it a probable hypothesis.

It would thus appear that Dr. Ghoshal has failed to establish his new thesis that the Śākyas were ruled by a single permanent king, and we must agree with Rhys Davids that they formed a republican clan, which was governed by a supreme assembly with one or more elected chiefs. It is needless to go into further details, as the evidence does not permit us to draw more than a general outline.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Was Sumati—the Author of the Prākṛta Paiṅgala

The author of the *Prākṛta Paiṅgala* (abbr. *PP.*) has spoken nothing about himself in his excellent work. Some ascribed the authorship of the work to Piṅgala—the traditional metrician of the Sanskrit prosody, who has been mentioned in the stanzas of the *PP.*[1] Taking into account the scholarship of the latter in their

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[1] In the introduction of the *PP.* published in the 'Bombay Kāvyamālā Series' Kashināth Pāndurang Parab has said:—

प्राकृतछन्दलक्षणकर्तापि स एव पिङ्गल येन संस्कृतछन्दोलक्षणसूत्राणि निर्मितानि......

From the above line it becomes clear that according to the editor of the work, the author of the Sanskrit *Chandaḥsūtra* and the *PP.* is the one and same person. Mm. Haridas Siddhantavagisa has expressed similar idea in his introduction of the *Chandaḥsūtra* :— अस्य छन्दशास्त्रस्य पिङ्गलाचार्यस्तावत् प्रथमः प्रणेता । स हि पिङ्गलाचार्यः कुत्रचित् पिङ्गलनाम्ना कुत्रचित् पिङ्गलमुनिरिति नाम्नापि प्रसिद्धः । अपिच पतञ्जलेर्नामान्तरं पिङ्गलाचार्य इत्यपि जनश्रुतिर्विद्वज्जन-मानसपथे कदाचित् पथिकायते । दृश्यते खलु तत्कृतप्राकृतछन्दोग्रन्थस्य मंगलाचरणश्लोके पिंगलनाग इति नाम । Introduction, p. 2, ed. 1935.

Not the Eastern scholar only, but the Western scholars too have subscribed respective branches of studies, one hesitates to reject the view forthwith; but a little consideration of the history of the great Aryan speech indubiously shows that Piṅgala, who flourished in the pre-Christian era[2] and long before the origin of the Apabhraṃśa dialect itself, could never have composed a work in the same language. So, however eminent may they be in their respective spheres, their view is to be unhesitatingly discarded as being erroneous.

Professor Jacobi, who in his excellent edition of the 'Bhabisatta-kahā' made valuable observations on the origin of the Apabhraṃśa speech and its dialectal differences, however, made a suggestion that deserves more than a passing glance. About the author of the *PP.* he said "Der Verfasser ist nach der Kommentar des Śripati, wie Herr Todarmall gefunden hat, Sumati, Sohn des Apaṭaratha[3]. Jacobi, as he clearly admits was not himself responsible for the information. He got it from Todarmal, an Indian student, who for sometime worked under him as a research-scholar in Germany. The latter gathered the information, while he was engaged in preparing an edition of the *PP.* It may be incidentally mentioned that Todarmall's work was never published, as the MS. of the work was lost due to his

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to this view. Prof. Maxmüller observed "There would be nothing extraordinary in the fact that Piṅgala treats of Prakrit as well as Sanskrit metres. For, we have the instance of Kātyāyanavararuci, who wrote the Vārttikas on Pāṇini and lived before Patañjali, and is said to be the same who wrote a grammar of the Prākrit dialects." *History of Ancient Sanskrit literature*, p. 48.

[2] About the date of Piṅgala, the author of the Sanskrit *Chandaḥsūtra* Macdonell has said "He probably lived in the latter half of the second century B.C. and in any case not later than the beginning of our era," *History of Sanskrit literature*, p. 431. Weber has said the following about the date of the *Chandaḥsūtra*, from which we can know the date of Piṅgala. "Und zwar werden wir dadurch, wie bereits angedeutet, in eine periode geführt, die als den Auslaufen der Vedischen Sūtra-literatur resp. den Anfangen der astronomischen und algebraichen Literatur, nahestehend zu bezeichnen ist. Eine festere Bestimmung eben leider nicht geben."

[Trans. As we have already suggested, the above arguments lead us to a period, which is to be marked as remaining close to the termination of the Vedic sūtra literature and the beginning of astronomic and algebraic literature. But unfortunately a more accurate decision cannot be reached now]. As the growth and development of the Sūtra-literature fall within the period of 500-200 B.C. Weber's date synchronises with that of Macdonell.

[3] *Bhabisattakahā*, p. 47, fn. 1. "The authr according to the commentary of Śripati, as Todarmall has found, is Sumati, son of Apaṭaratha."

sudden and premature death at the time of the first world war. It should be mentioned here that the statement of Jacobi contains some inaccuracies and provides us with the wrong information. But, we do not know how far Jacobi should be held responsible for it, as he gathered it from an indirect source.

It is a fact that the above information occurs in the commentary of the *PP.*, which was prepared by Ravimiśra and titled "Piṅgala-sāra-vikāśinī[4]". Though mentioned there, Śripati was not certainly the author of the commentary, but he was most probably the scribe. It may be that Śripati was the first transcriber of the work, from whom the scholars, living close to him, prepared their own copies. There cannot be any mistake as regards the authorship of the commentary, as Ravimiśra has given us a table of his genealogy in unequivocal terms without leaving any scope for doubt and confusion. Next, it should be taken into account that the name of Sumati's father is nowhere mentioned in the commentary. It seemed to have occurred to Todarmall from a confusion, which was occasioned most probably by scribal errors. It will be clear, if we cite the particular extract from the commentary and point-out where the confusion occurred exactly. It runs:—इमां छन्दोविद्यां सदयहृदयः प्राह गिरिशः। फणीन्द्रायाख्यातः इति स गरुड़भिया पिंगल इति। द्विजस्यास्य स्नेहादपठदथ शिष्योऽति सुमतिः। स्वकांतां संवोध्य स्फुटमकथयत् साऽखिलमिदं। इहायातः सुमतिस्तां विद्यामधीत्य छन्दोग्रन्थं साधारणजनोपयोगार्थमपभ्रंशेन चिकीर्षुस्तस्य विघ्नविघातद्वारा समाप्तिकामः स्वगुरोः पिंगलाचार्यस्योत्कीर्तनरूपं शिष्टाचारपरिप्राप्तं मङ्गलमादौ कुर्वन्नाह।[5] ...Now, the expressions under-

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[4] MS no. 5741-7-G.3 in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the descriptive catalogue of Skt. mss. prepared by Mm. Haraprasad Śāstri, the following description occurs. "Piṅgala-sāra-vikāśinī" is a Sanskrit commentary on Prākṛta-Paiṅgala by Ravikara who gives his genealogy thus:— Śūlapāṇi>Ratnākara Miśra >Dohavi Pandita>Dhandeśa>Bhīmasena Miśra Hari-hara-Kavi>Ravikara.

The ms. in the India office (I.O. Cat. 1110) was copied from a manuscript in the library of the Palpārājā of Gorakpura in 1814. Palpā is now in Nepal territory." p. clix.

[5] The science of metres was imparted by Giriśa to the lord of serpents, who called himself Piṅgala out of fear for Garuḍa. His disciple, who was very intelligent, learn it out of regard for the brahmin. He addressed his wife and made an exposition of the entire science to her. Sumati who came there learnt the science and wanted to compose a metrical treatise in Apabhraṃsa to make it useful for all the ordinary people. With a desire to remove impediments and

lined above could very easily appear as *Apaṭaratha*, as making confusions between the Devanāgarī letters ṭh and ṭ , and d and r , is a very commonplace phenomenon in the transcription of the Indian manuscripts.

Now, the question is how far the statement of Ravimiśra is reliable and how much weight it carries. Are we to believe that Sumati was the real author of the *PP.*? It is a fact that the colophon of the ms., which we consulted at Asiatic Society library and also of that deposited in the India Office library, do not mention the date, which could have had some value in the decision of the matter. It is also to be noted that the text, of which Ravikara has written the commentary, does not represent the shortest recension, which we have claimed to be the original. We do not know also whether there was ever a poet or metrician named Sumati, who had any contribution whatsoever to Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa literature. In these circumstances we cannot be sure that Sumati, as suggested by Ravimiśra, was the actual author of the *PP*. Again, it is also a fact that there is no such positive evidence too, by which we can set aside Sumati's claim for the authorship of the work. Further investigations alone, we must frankly confess, can help us to reach a more decisive conclusion and this statement of Ravikara serves merely as a spring-board for further researches.

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successfully complete the work, he praises Piṅgalācārya his teacher and reads the benedictory verse, which is in pursuit of the conduct of the noble.

The significance of two old historical titles

Kramāditya

Of the various titles borne by the Guptas, Vikramāditya perhaps is the best known. Candragupta II bore it, and so did his grandson, Skandagupta. Had this tradition of the adoption of the grandfather's title by the grandson been continued, India might have had some more Vikramādityas. But the Guptas somehow preferred even the title Kramāditya to it, in spite of its being comparatively colourless. Not satisfied with being Vikramāditya, Skandagupta wished to be known also as Kramāditya[1]. The other Kramādityas known to us are Kumāragupta II, Kumāragupta III and Ghaṭotkacagupta[2]. Now what does Kramāditya mean? According to one view, Kramāditya is synonymous with Vikramāditya, for the words mean "puissant like the Sun" or "striding like the Sun[3]". But that to the Guptas themselves the words *krama* and *vikrama* conveyed two different ideas can be seen from their juxtapositional use in the following verse of the Bhitarī inscription[4]: —

vinaya-bala-sūnitair-vvikrameṇa krameṇa
pratidinam-abhiyogād-īpsitaṁ yena labdhvā

And as to what *krama* and *vikrama* mean in such a context, it is perhaps best to turn to the following *sūtras* of Somadeva Sūri's *Nītivākyāmṛta*: —

1. *Rājyasya mūlaṁ kramo vikramaśca* (V. 26)
2. *Ācārasampattiḥ kramasampattiṁ karoti* (V. 27)
3. *Krama-vikramayor-anyatara-parigraheṇa rājyasya duṣkaraḥ pariṇāmaḥ* (V. 29)

According to the commentary sub-joined to the *sūtras*, *krama* is *pitṛpaitāmahika rājya*, i.e., an inherited kingdom, and *vikrama* is *śaurya* or valour[5]. One's adherence to established customs and usages led to the prosperity of an inherited kingdom[6]. But *vikrama* was necessary, for without it even a *kramāgata* kingdom could be lost; and equally necessary was *krama*, for in the case of even a territory acquired through *vikrama*, efforts had to be made to ensure that it passed as inherited territory to the conqueror's descendants[7].

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[1] "The epithet Kramāditya is found on certain gold coins of the heavy Archer type as well as on silver issues of the Garuḍa, Bull and Archer types. The more famous title of Vikramāditya is met with on silver coins of the Altar type."

[2] See Allan, *Gupta Coins*. Kumāragupta III's coins bear the title, Śrī Kramāditya (*PHAI*., 5th edition, p. 577, n. 4).

[3] *PHAI*., 5th edition, p. 571.

[4] Verse 3, Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 313.

With Somadeva Sūri's explanation of *krama* before us, we easily understand the popularity of the title Kramāditya. Every Gupta ruler, from Candragupta II onwards, liked to be called an *āditya*, whether he was Mahendrāditya, Śakrāditya, Bālāditya or any other *āditya*. But in a period, when wars of succession were by no means uncommon, it was found increasingly necessary to emphasise that one was an *āditya*, not by virtue of mere *vikrama* but also of *krama* or inherited right. This explains why so many coins of Vikramāditya Skandagupta call him Kramāditya. He was brave all right, the foremost warrior of the Gupta family as the Bhitarī inscription puts it; but there were others who, though not equally brave perhaps, advanced a claim to the Gupta throne on the grounds of inherited right. Ghaṭotkacagupta probably issued the coins bearing the legend, Ghaṭo Kramāditya, soon after the death of Kumāragupta I, and fought a battle or two before he could be disposed off. On Skandagupta's death, Purugupta ascended the throne. But in 473 A.D. we find not Purugupta's son Budhagupta but Kumāragupta II as the ruler of the Gupta empire. And this Kumāragupta naturally called himself Kramāditya; in other words he proclaimed to the world that he had a better right to the throne than Purugupta's

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5 *Nītivākyāmṛta*, Māṇikchand Digambar Jain Series, p. 52. To support his view the commentator quotes further the following verse from Śukra:—

krama-vikrama-mūlasya rājyasya tu yathā taroḥ/
samūlasya bhaved-vṛddhis-tābhyām hīnasya saṁkṣayaḥ//

6 *Ibid.*, p. 53. Śukra is again quoted as follows:—

laukikaṁ vyavahāraṁ yaḥ kurute nayavṛddhitaḥ/
tadvṛddhyā vṛddhimāyāti rājyaṁ tatra kramāgatam//

7 Cf. the following quoted by the commentator respectively from Nārada and Śukra:—

parākramacyuto yastu rājā saṁgrāmakātaraḥ/
api kramāgataṁ tasya nāśam rājyaṁ pragacchati//
rājyam hi salilaṁ yadvadyalbalena samāhṛtam/
rājyaṁ hi salilaṁ yadvadyadbalena samāhṛtam/
bhūyopi tattatobhyeti laghvākālasya samkṣayam//

descendants[8]. A similar scramble for the throne probably led to the assumption of the title "Śrī Kramāditya" by Kumāragupta III.

Bālavalabhībhujaṅga

In a short note contributed to the *IHQ*, XXVII, No. 1, Dr. D. C. Sircar has, after examining a number of old explanations of the word, *Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga*, concluded that *bhujaṅga*, here means most probably "a pupil", this being its sense in Javanese Sanskrit, a language not wholly unknown to the people of Bengal at that time. But as a great scholar like Bhavadeva was not, against all canons of sound diction[9], likely to give the word a meaning, unknown to most Indian students and scholars, even if it be admitted that a few, perhaps sailors and traders, knew it, would it not be better to look out for some other interpretation of *Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga*? Looking into Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* the other day, I found the following passage[10]: —

Jaa pūvvadianganābhuanga Campācampakakannaūra līlānijjia-Rāḍhādeśa vikkamakkanta-Kāmarūa Harikeli-keliāraa

The ruler addressed is called the *bhujaṅga* of the lady, called the eastern quarter, the *campaka* ear-ornament of Campā, the surpasser of the loveliness of Rāḍhā, the conqueror, by his powers, of Kāmarūpa, and a provider of sport to Harikeli. *Bhujaṅga* in this context clearly suggests the sense of "victor", for who could be a paramour of the lady, called the eastern quarter, except one who defeated its rightful master and conquered it. In *Bālavalabhi-bhujaṅga*, the verbal similarity of which to *pūvvadianganābhuaṅga* is obvious enough, *bhujaṅga* might have carried the same meaning as in the latter term. Bālavalabhī, in Bhavadeva's time, was a town of some importance. It was the capital of Vikramarāja, an ally of Rāmapāla in his fight against Bhīma[11]. As a *sāndhivigrahika* of Harivarman, a quondum friend of Bhīma, could Bhavadeva not have at some time or other led his master's forces into Bālavalabhī and thus acquired the title of *Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga*[12]?

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8 The likelihood of wars of succession among the Guptas is recognised also by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri. See *PHAI*,, 5th edition, p. 634.

9 See for instance the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 270, recognising अप्रयुक्तत्व as a major *doṣa*. (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute edition).

10 *Nirnayasagar Press Edition*, p. 13.

11 R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, I, p. 157.

12 For Harivarman's friendship with Bhima before his (Bhima's) defeat by Rāmapāla see Dr. Majumdar's *History of Bengal*, I, p. 159.

Aśvaghoṣa and the Nāṭyaśāstra

On the basis of various data which included the fact that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* more or less in the present form was known to Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, it has been concluded in my introduction (p. lxxi ff.) to the translation of the work[1] that it may be placed in the second century A.C. But to avoid prolixity I have not discussed in detail Aśvaghoṣa's Pkt. in this connexion. This may however lead to some misunderstanding. It may be asked if the *NŚ.* really belonged to 200 A.C. why Pkt. of the *dhruvās* (*NŚ.* XXXII) are orthographically more developed than that of Aśvaghoṣa's drama fragments. This is indeed a very pertinent question; but this has already engaged my attention. In my paper on the Pkt. verses of the *Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra* (*IHQ.* vol. VIII, 1932, para. 6) I already wrote[2]:

> "But we know Ś. of Aśvaghoṣa (1st century A.C.) which differs from the Ś. of the *dhruvās* in not softening the intervocal hard stops. This would at once bring down the date of the examples of *dhruvās* to 200 A.C. But as we do not know the actual phonetic value given to Aśvaghoṣa's unvoiced stops which in all probability were voiced in enunciation, the actual time of the *dhruvās* might be earlier still, or it may be that Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. is a Pkt. dialect that was already archaic enough to be out of ordinary use, and he wrote much like the later dramatists a Pkt. which though commonly understood was already an obsolete speech in his own time. In that case too the available version of the examples of *dhruvās* points to a time earlier than 200 A.C."

There is besides another possibility. The text of the *dhruvās* might have undergone a change. Because the Pkt. orthography, unlike that of the Skt. never being fixed, the successive generation of scribes during the Middle Indo-Aryan period, had a tendency to change Pkt. texts to bring them in a line with the current speech. It is probably on this assumption that we can explain properly in case of Pkt. texts the particular phenomenon of one group of mss. systematically recording more developed orthography than that of another[3]. Such systematic change may not reasonably be attributed to any other cause.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

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[1] Published in *the Bibleotheca Indica* by Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1950.

[2] Due to inadvertence this fact has not been mentioned in the introduction of the *NŚ.*

[3] See Introduction to the *Karpūramañjarī* ed. M. Ghosh, Calcutta, 1939. Sec. 13.

The Spread of the Saka Era in South India

In a note published in a previous number of this Journal (Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 f.) Dr. D. C. Sircar has drawn my attention to two records which I had not noticed in my article on the spread of the Śaka era in South India. As shown below, these records do not affect my thesis in the least.

Dr. Sircar refers to a grant of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman which mentions the village Herbbaṭa (modern Hebbata in the Tumkur *tālukā* of Mysore) as situated in the Mahiṣa-viṣaya[1]. This record is evidently cited to show that the Māhiṣaka country could not have included the southern parts of the Hyderabad State as I had suggested in my article. Dr. Sircar's contention would have been convincing if we had mention of no other country named Mahiṣa or Māhiṣaka in any ancient record. Unfortunately this is not the case. Even in distant Gujarat there was a territorial division of that name. A grant of the Raṣṭrakūṭa prince Karka-Suvarṇavarṣa who ruled in Gujarat mentions the village Brāhmaṇapallikā as situated in the territorial division of Māhiṣaka-dvicatvāriṁśat (Māhiṣaka Forty-two)[2]. The village is probably identical with modern Bāmaṇgāon in the Baroda *tālukā* as shown by the editor of the grant. The name Mahiṣa or Māhiṣaka was not thus confined to the territory round Hebbata. The country where Māna Mahiṣa and his successors were ruling may also have gone by the same name. This conjecture receives support from several place-names derived from Mahiṣa such as Māski, Māswāḍi, Māsūr, Māskeri, Māsangi and Māsnur noticed in the Kanarese districts of the Hyderabad and Bombay States. Of these, the first place-name Māski deserves special notice as some coins of the Mahiṣa dynasty have been found there in the course of excavation[3]. It is therefore not altogether unlikely that the southern parts of the Hyderabad State were included in the country of Māhiṣaka as conjectured by me on the evidence of the Epics and the Purāṇas cited in my article.

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[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Mysore* for 1925, pp. 91 f.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXII, p. 84.

[3] *JNSI.*, vol. XI, pp. 1 f.

Whether that territory bore the name Māhiṣaka or not is not, however, very material to my thesis and does not affect its plausibility in the least. On the evidence of the coins discovered in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur and Māski I had shown that the dynasty founded by the Śaka king Māna Mahiṣa was ruling over the southern parts of the Hyderabad State. I had further conjectured that the Śaka era, which, in the present state of our knowledge, suddenly comes to view in the records of the Early Cālukyas of Bādāmi, was previously used by this dynasty of the Mahiṣas and spread to the neighbouring country by the extension of their rule. It was later adopted by the Early Cālukyas probably because it had been well established in their country. Dr. Sircar says that he cannot commit anything without examining the coins in question. He is welcome to examine them if he cannot read their legends from the published mechanical facsimiles. I have no doubt that the authorities of the Hyderabad State will afford him the necessary facilities. As for his objection that there is no evidence of the power and prestige of this family, I have already drawn attention to the mention, in the Purāṇas, of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahiṣa dynasty. He is one of the few kings of the historical period who find mention in the Purāṇas[4]. This should be sufficient evidence of his power and prestige. That he held the southern parts of the Hyderabad State is now definitely known from nearly two dozen coins of him and his descendants found in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur and Māski. That he belonged to the Śaka race is also certain from the Prakrit legends which invariably prefix *Saga* (Sanskrit, *Śaka*) to his name and also from the aforementioned statement in the Purāṇas. This is further corroborated by the type—thunderbolt and arrow—so characteristic of the coins of the Śaka Kṣatrapas Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, on the reverse of some of the coins of Māna Mahiṣa[5]. It is no doubt true that the number of the rulers of this dynasty and the durations of their reigns are not yet known; but these deficiencies are not confined to this dynasty only. They are common to several dynasties of ancient times such as the Nala dynasty whose existence Dr. Sircar has not disputed on these grounds. I wonder why he should fight shy of admitting the existence of this dynasty only, notwithstanding the evidence detailed above. As a matter of fact, one more king besides Māna has become known from the coin which I have published. Let us hope that the names of many more kings will come to light in future discoveries.

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[4] Cf. शक्यमानाऽभवद्राजा महीपोणां महीपतिःin Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51. This is probably a corrupt form of शक्मानोऽभवद्राजा महिषाणां महीपतिः। Even if the country where he flourished was not known as Māhiṣaka, the expression महिषाणां महीपतिः can be explained as meaning 'the king of the Mahiṣa dynasty' on the analogy of वाकाटकानां महाराजः which occurs in all Vākāṭaka grants.

[5] *JNSI.* vol. XII, pp. 90 f.

That this family rose to power after the Sātavāhanas and before the the rise of the Early Cālukyas is also proved by the types of its coins and the language and palæography of their legends. It is no doubt true that there is yet no evidence of the actual use of the Śaka era by the rulers of this family, but that is because no lithic records or copper-plate grants of these kings, where we could expect it to be used, have been discovered so far. The available evidence is not however so meagre or uncertain as to justify us in dismissing this theory as 'a mere conjecture.'

What other theory has Dr. Sircar to put forward to explain the emergence of the Śaka era in South India in the sixth century A.D.? He says that the spread of the Śaka era in the south seems to be essentially associated with that of the Jains,—mostly a mercantile community,—from their stronghold in the Gujarat-Kathiawad region where the era was in use till the close of the fourth century A.D. To prove this Dr. Sircar cites the evidence of the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*, the precise date of the completion of which is given as the twenty-second regnal year of king Siṁhavarman, lord of the Pallavas and as 80 beyond 300 years of the Śaka era. Let us examine this evidence somewhat closely.

When the aforementioned date was discovered more than forty years ago, Dr. Fleet was suspicious about its correctness. 'This date (Śaka 380),' wrote he[6], 'is so completely opposed to all that we can learn about the history of the Śaka era that it can only be looked on with considerable doubt. For Siṁhasūri to date his work in the reign of Siṁhavarman, king of Kāñcī, he must have been a subject of Siṁhavarman and must have lived in the Pallava territory. But the earliest instance in which the use of the Śaka era can be traced to anywhere near the Pallava territory is of A.D. 867, four centuries later than the given date. The matter is one which requires to be looked into very fully, before we either accept or dismiss this date.' Subsequent research has confirmed Dr. Fleet's suspicion. It is now known that the *Lokavibhāga*, in which this date occurs, is a Sanskrit version of an earlier Prakrit work of Sarvanandi[7]. The Prakrit original is not extant. That the Sanskrit version is not a faithful rendering of the earlier Prakrit work is shown by the incorporation in it of the *gāthās* not only from the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (the date of which is somewhat disputed) but also of *Trailokyasāra* which is known to have been composed during the time of Cāmuṇḍarāya (10th century A.D.)[8]. The Sanskrit *Lokavibhāga* contains also some Sanskrit verses from the Jaina work *Ādipurāṇa* which was composed in the 9th century A.D. The Sanskrit version, which contains these later verses, was therefore composed some time after the 10th century A.D. It is as little likely to be an exact rendering of the earlier Prakrit work as Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* is of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*.

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[6] *An. Rep. MAS.*, for 1909, p. 45.

The correctness of the date Śaka 380 given in the Sanskrit *Lokavibhāga* as the year of the composition of the earlier Prakrit original is thus open to question. The suspicion is further strengthened by the details of the planetory positions mentioned therein[9]. Such details, so far as I know, do not occur in any other early Jaina work. The earliest instance of it known so far is in the commentary *Dhavalā* of Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama said to be composed in the Śaka year 738[10]. Again, if the Śaka era had really been current in the dominion of the Pallavas of Kāñcī, it would surely have been used in dating the grants of those kings. These grants are found dated in regnal years. The Śaka era was introduced in that part of the country several centuries later as stated by Dr. Fleet. All these considerations render the date Śaka 380 mentioned in the Sanskrit work *Lokavibhāga* extremely doubtful. Its evidence does not affect my theory in the least.

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[7] This is explicitly stated in one of the verses at the end भाषायाः परिवर्तनेन निपुणैः सम्मानितं साधुभिः । The *Muni* Sarvanandi was not a mere copyist of the Sanskrit *Lokavibhāga* as supposed by R. Narasimhachar, but the author of the original Prakrit work. See Nathuram Premi, *Jaina Sahitya aur Itihāsa*, pp. 1 f.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 3 f.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[10] See the discussion of it in Dr. Hiralal Jain's edition of *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*. vol. I, pp. 36 f.

Even supposing that the date Śaka 380 is genuine, it would only show that Sarvanandi, the author of the Prakrit *Lokavibhāga* did not originally belong to the Pallava country, but had migrated there from some other territory, where the Śaka era was current. He therefore dates his work both in the regnal year of the Pallava king in whose dominion he was living at the time and also in the Śaka era which he was accustomed to use. From what country did he migrate? If it is conjectured that he may have migrated from some neighbouring country where the era was in use, Dr. Sircar would regard the inference as unwarranted. He supposes that the spread of the Śaka era in South India was due to the Jain merchants who migrated from the Gujarat-Kathiawad region. This supposition is no less unwarranted; for (i) it is not proved that Sarvanandi, in whose work the earliest known Śaka date from South India occurs, was a merchant and had migrated from the Gujarat-Kathiawad region; (ii) there is no evidence that the Gujarat-Kathiawad region was the only strong-hold of the Jains, from where Jain merchants could have migrated to South India; (iii) if the Śaka era was spread by the Jains, how is it that the era is not used in records of the Kadambas who made several grants to Jaina temples in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D.? These grants are found dated in regnal years. Are we to suppose that the Jain merchants from Gujarat-Kathiawad did not penetrate into the Kadamba kingdom? (iv) the known history of other eras shows that an era spreads with the extension of the dominion of the ruling power which starts or patronises it. The Gupta and Harṣa eras spread in North India with the extension of the empire of the Guptas and Harṣa. The Kalacuri era which was originally current in Mahārāṣṭra, Gujarat and Konkan spread to North India and Chattisgarh when the Kalacuris extended their rule to these territories. If eras could have spread with the migration of merchants, the Christian era would have been current throughout India long before the Muslim, Maratha and Sikh kingdoms were annexed by the British. For all these reasons Dr. Sircar's theory that the spread of the Śaka era in the south was essentially associated with that of the Jains from their strong-hold in the Gujarat-Kathiawad region is absolutely unwarranted.

On the other hand, if there was a Śaka dynasty ruling over the southern parts of the Hyderabad State as is shown by the discovery of their coins in the excavations at Koṇḍāpur and Māski, it is not unlikely that they used the era known as 'the era of the Śakas' or 'the era of the Śaka kings,' and that it spread to neighbouring countries with the extension of their power or with that of the dominion of other rulers like the Cālukyas who adopted it as it was well established in their country.

There is thus nothing unwarranted in my theory about the spread of the Śaka era in South India. Some details, of course, are still lacking, but it is hoped that they would be supplied by future discoveries.

V. V. MIRASHI

REVIEWS

TATTVA-JIJÑĀSĀ by Dr. Satis Chandra Chattopadhyaya; 177 pp. Published by Das Gupta & Co. Ltd. Calcutta.

Prof. Chatterji has rendered a distinct service to the cause of Bengali language and literature by publishing his collected papers under the title "Tattvajijñāsā". It is refreshing to read a book in chaste grammatical language in contrast to the present day tendency of writing Bengali in slang and semi-colloquial dialect. He has enriched the language by his choice philosophical expressions which aptly correspond to English philosophical terms. He has taken upon himself the task of presenting terse philosophical current ideas in a form intelligible to a reader with some intellectual advancement and we must say that he has acquitted himself of his task very well. Much credit is due to him for placing before us in a simple language the philosophy of Sri Aurobindo, Sri Ramkrishna Paramhamsa and Prof. Krishna Chandra Bhattacharya. His dissertations on Religion and Philosophy, Methods of philosophy, on Karma and its fruits, teachings of Nyaya-Vaiśesika schools, and on Indian culture are lucid and at the same time learned. In short, it is an excellent treatise for a general knowledge of philosophical topics.

N. Dutt

TWO NEW PĀLA RECORDS. By Manoranjan Gupta. Published by Manmatha Roy. Calcutta: 1951. Pp. 19, 2 plates.

This is a reprint of a paper published by the author in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, (vol. xvii, 1951, no. 2) with the addition of a table of contents and an index. The copper-plates which were recovered by the author in January 1947 and are now deposited in the museum of the *Vangīya Sāhitya Parishad* are records of land-grants by two Pāla kings of ancient Bengal, viz. Mahīpāla I and Vigrahapāla III. While these records partake of the well-known types of the land-grants of this dynasty, they present a number of interesting problems regarding topography. The great value of this paper consists in the admirable manner in which these problems have been tackled by the author with the aid of two good sketches and two valuable maps (one based on the *Survey of India* maps and another reproduced from Rennel's *Atlas*). While some of the author's identifications (e.g. of Ptolemy's Kirradia and its cities of Pentapolis and Caturgram) and statements (such as that the Kaivartas owe their origin to the Pauṇḍras) may not be above criticism, there is no doubt that he has made a valuable contribution to the historical geography of ancient Bengal. Among other points of note in this paper are the author's remarks on the palaeography and orthography of the inscriptions, on the identity of the *dūtakas* and the artists mentioned therein and on the then current measures of land. On the whole, this paper is a welcome addition to the literature bearing on the history of Bengal in ancient times.

U. N. Ghoshal

RĀJAGṚHA-O-NĀLANDĀ by Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A., D.Phil (Hamburg). Bhāratavidyā-vihāra, Calcutta, 1951. Pages, d/c. 4+93.

This brochure on the itinerary of Rājagṛha and Nālandā has been a welcome addition to this kind of literature. Written by a student of the history of the Jain and the Buddhist sects it gives much information that is not easily available to an ordinary reader. Considering the fact that Mahāvīra and Buddha are the two very outstanding personalities of India's past, places like Rājagṛha sanctified by their physical association have become objects of veneration not only to the devotees but to students of history as well. It is gratifying to see that the small work under review will furnish them all the valuable information that they may require for the proper identification of the different parts of Rājagṛha and Nālandā mentioned in different historical records in varying connections. In this matter the author has bestowed much scrupulous care and has made original suggestions which may profit professional scholars as well.

At the end of the work the author has made some valuable suggestions regarding the development of these ancient sites as objects of tourists' interest. These may be followed by our Central and State Governments with profit for the good name of the country as well as the augmentation of their revenue.

Manomohan Ghosh

JAINA-DHARMA by Amulya Chandra Sen, M.A., D.Phil., Visvabharati, Calcutta, 1951.

This latest publication in the well-known series (*Viśvavidyā-saṃgraha*) gives in a nutshell all the essential informations regarding the life and teachings of Mahāvīra and Pārśvanātha. But it should not be considered to be merely a summary of what other scholars wrote. The author, being a specialist in Jainism, has offered here and there criticism of earlier views which in his opinion require revision. It may be hoped that this small work will be as attractive to readers as the very best among the earlier publications in the *Viśvavidyā-saṃgraha*.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XXXI, parts I-IV.

R. N. DANDEKAR.—The process of evolution in the personality of Vedic Indra is traced in the paper. The description of the Indra-Vṛtra contest in the *Ṛgveda* does not fit in completely with any of the naturalistic interpretations put forward by different scholars *viz.* the Rain-god piercing the cloud-demon, the Sun-god melting the Winter-devil, or the Light driving away the Gloom. On the other hand, the human character of Indra is revealed in a number of passages of the *Ṛgveda*. Hence, Indra is conjectured to have once been a national hero of the Vedic Indians leading them to conquest after conquest against 'Vṛtra', which word originally denoted 'resistance.' The warrior Indra was in course of time transformed into a War-god and the naturalistic and cosmic elements were superimposed on his character with the corresponding transformation of the impersonal concept of Vṛtra first into the resisting foes and afterwards into a Demon. The Aryan ancestors of the Vedic Indians and ancient Iranians, while living together for a time in the Balkh region, had Asura Varuṇa as their common godhead. A section of the people moving from Balkh to Iran stuck to the faith of the Aryan ancestors and developed a religion presided over by Ahura Mazda. The Vedic Aryans on the other hand advancing towards India as a warring people elavated their War-leader into the position of a powerful Divinity of the mid-region.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI.—*Some Ideas on Historical Interpretations.* The discourse deals with the correct procedure to be adopted in the utilisation and interpretation of various historical materials.

D. K. BEDEKAR.—*Primitive Society and Yajña.* The idea of sacrifice as a creative rite formed the essential motive power of the primitive society everywhere.

S. K. BELVALKAR.—*Mahābhārata Text-Transmission Problems: Problem No. 4.* Arguments are advanced here in justification of the writer's action in admitting certain passages into the constituted text of his edition of the Bhīṣma Parvan inspite of the omission of those passages in the Southern Recension of the *Mahābhārata*.

N. J. Shende.—*Aṅgiras in the Vedic Literature.* Evidence adduced from Vedic literature shows that the Āṅgirasas had been great leaders of the Vedic people.

R. D. Karmarkar.—*Bhagavadgītā XVI, 8.* According to the author of this note, the views disapprovingly referred to in the Gītā verse असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदाहुरनीश्वरम् etc. point to the Buddhistic doctrines.

P. K. Gode.—*Studies in the History of Tāmbūla—History of the Verse about the Thirteen Qualities of Tāmbūla—between A.D. 1200 and 1900.*

K. Krishnamoorthy.—*Ānandavardhana's Treatment of Pratibhā in Relation to Dhvani* (With an appendix on 'Poets who show open recognition of the Theory of Dhvani').

Hans Losch.—*Sources of Śrī Kumāra's Śilparatna.* The second part of the *Śilparatna* dealing with iconography has largely drawn upon the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, the *Prapañcasāratantra*, and the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*.

V. M. Apte.—*A Problem presented by the Word Śva-ghn-in in the Ṛgveda.* The word *śvaghin* used in the *Ṛgveda* in the sense of a 'gambler' is a puzzle as the two constituents of the compound (*śva* and *han*) point only to the meaning of a 'dog-killer'. A rite prescribed in the *Gṛhya-sūtras* for the cure of epilepsy supplies an explanation in this regard. The epileptic fit was supposed to be due to a 'seizure' by a dog-demon. The expiatory rite performed to free the patient from this 'seizure' (*śva-graha-prāyaścitta*) required his presence in a gambling hall. In this way the gambler might have got the appellation of *śaghnin* or dog-killer.

S. K. Dikshit.—*Some Aspects of Civilization of the "Copper and Bronze Age" in India.* The discussion centres round the Indus Valley discoveries.

H. C. Bhayani.—*MIA. Groups of Consonants with Unassimilated R as preserved in Gujarati.*

N. Aiyaswami Sastri.—*Nāgānanda and its Social Background.* A spirit of benefaction and tolerance is noticeable in the Sanskrit drama *Nāgānanda* of king Harṣa. Some events portrayed in the drama and the religious and social environment of its plot reflect, in certain aspects, the life of the poet himself.

R. D. KARMARKAR.—*The First Greek Conqueror of India.* According to the Greek tradition, Dionysus conquered India long before Alexander. This Dionysus is identified here with (deva) Nahuṣa of the Purāṇas who is said to have gone out to rule over a region situated between India and Greece and re-entered the country to occupy the throne of Indra about 7000 B.C.

V. B. MISHRA.—*The Gurjara-Pratīhāras in Bhṛgu-kaccha (Broach).*

SUBAL SINGH.—*Time of Śrīdharācārya.* Śrīdhara, the astronomer is generally assigned to 750 A.C. A possibility is hinted at here that he might have flourished before Brahmagupta in the sixth century.

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA.—*Two important literary References bearing on the History of Spectacles.* The references to spectacles are found in two old Gujarati poems of the 16th and the 17th centuries.

N. G. CHAPEKAR.—*Bharadvāja.* Bharadvāja is taken to be a nick-name signifying 'one who is full of valour, wealth, or food.'

S. N. TADPATRIKAR.—*Cosmic Account in Manusmṛti.*

R. N. DANDEKAR.—*The Authorship of the Yajñaphala.* The manuscript evidence proves that the Sanskrit drama *Yajñaphala* attributed to Bhāsa cannot be a spurious work of a modern author as is suggested in some quarters.

Brahmavidya (Adyar Library Bulletin), vol. XV, part 4

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Vedas as the Foundation of Indian Civilization: What it actually means.* The authority of the Vedas in all matters relating to *Dharma* had become an article of faith in India. The authoritative position had been earned by them on account of their intrinsic value. "According to the Vedic tradition everything that conduces to the progress and happiness of humanity is within the Veda." A considerable portion of Vedic lore concerning the secular aspect of *Dharma* is lost to us. Only in religious matter the Vedas now hold their position.

SERIAL PUBLICATIONS:

Āṅgirasasmṛti ; *Vedāntakārikāvalī* ; *Edicts of Aśoka* and *Vṛttaratnāvalī* continue in this issue of the journal.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*Manuscript Notes: A South-Indian Imitation of the Gītagovinda.* The *Keśavadhyānāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* of Keśava, is a lyric in 12 sargas in praise of a deity called *Cennakeśava* worshipped in a temple at Betur in the Mysore State. The work written in imitation of Jayadeva may be assigned to the first half of the 17th century.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,
Vol. XIII, Part 4

H. W. BAILEY.—*Irano-Indica IV.* The following words have been dealt with in this instalment of the linguistic discussion: *prūva, čandana, khara, paṃjse-vaṣāri, ggośtä, vūīyā, āce, śiṃjse, praña pārāme, plāvī.*

W. S. ALLEN.—*Some Prosodic Aspects of Retrofexion and Aspiration in Sanskrit.*

D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY.—*The Varṇārhavarṇa of Mātṛceṭa* (II). The Sanskrit text of the remaining eight Sections (V-XII) of Mātṛceṭa's *Varṇārhavarṇa* (Buddha stotra) is published here with their Tibetan Versions and English Translations.

ALFRED MASTER.—*Gleanings from the Kuvalayamālā Kahā—II: Specimens of Prose Apabhraṁśa and Middle Indian Mixed with Sanskrit.*

Ceylon Historical Journal, vol. I, No. 2 (October, 1951)

LAKSHMAN S. PERERA.—*The Brāhmī Inscriptions as a Source for the Study of the Early History of Ceylon.* The discussion covers the period roughly from the third century B. C. to the second century A. C.

N. D. WIJESEKERA.—*A Comparative Study of Early Sinhalese Paintings with Contemporary Indian Paintings.*

B. J. PERERA—*The Foreign Trade and Commerce of Ancient Ceylon: The Ports of Ancient Ceylon.*

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,
vol. XVIII, parts 1-4

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*Buddhist India and the Rest of the World.* Pointed references are made to the great influence of the Buddhist art and culture as is still traceable in various countries outside India.

V. Yosodadevi.—*The History of Andhra Country: 1000 A.D.-1500 A.D.—Subsidiary Dynasties.* This instalment of the paper deals with the Velanāndu Cōḍas of Tsandavōle (1020-1286 A.C.)

S. B. Chaudhury.—*The Andhras.* The boundaries of the Andhra country are traced from several early references.

A. S. Thyagraju.—*A Study of Telugu Place-names.*

Kota Venkatachalam.—*Kaliyugavṛttānta.* The writer pleads for attaching value to the accounts of dynasties given in the Purāṇic treatise *Kaliyugavṛttānta*, which is generally taken as spurious.

S. Bhimasankara Rao.—*The Aryan Contribution to Islamic Culture.*

R. Subbarao.—*A Brief History of Vizianagram.*

Journal of the Annmalai University, vol. XVI, July, 1951

A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar.—*Cilappatikāram.* This is an appreciation of the artistic skill employed in the delineation of the plot of the ancient Tamil classic, the *Cilappatikāram*.

T. P. Minakshisundaram.—*Portuguese Influence Revealed by the Tamil Words.*

T. P. Minakshisundaram and T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar.—*Palaiyaru, the Cola Capital.* Palaiyaru, now a small village near Kumbakonam, was at one time the capital of the Cola kings. Mudikondacolapuram was its alternative name. References to its greatness is found in literary works from the seventh century onwards. The history of the place is discussed.

G. Subramania Pillai.—*Omens and Beliefs of the Early Tamils.*

Journal of Bihar Research Society, vol. XXXVII, parts 1-2 (March-June, 1951)

C. S. Srinivasachari.—*Some Aspects of Indian Historical Interpretation.* The discourse points out lacunae in different fields of Indian history, and lays stress on the necessity of impartial interpretations of historical materials.

Dines Chandra Sircar.—*Barli Fragmentary Stone Inscription.* The inscription as now read turns to be a record of the dedication of a structure of eighty-four pillars by an inhabitant of Madhyamikā during the reign of the Śuṅga king Bhāgavata about the beginning of the first century B.C.

KAILAS CHANDRA OJHA.—*An Analysis of the Rāmagupta Tradition.* The belief in the existence of king Rāmagupta as the immediate predecessor of Candragupta II in the Gupta dynasty, and the tradition about Candragupta's usurpation of the throne together with the story of his marriage of Rāmagupta's wife rest on elements which cannot be called historical.

N. MISHRA.—*The Conception of Saṃskāra in the Yogasūtra.* When Vṛttis or mental states in operation cease to operate and lie as dormant forces in the mind to manifest themselves again under suitable conditions are designated *saṃskāras.* The dynamic character of the *saṃskāras* as contemplated in the descriptions of the *Yogasūtra* goes against their being taken as 'static impressions.'

T. P. BHATTACHARYYA.—*A Unique Image of Viṣṇu's Incarnation.* A Viṣṇu image of the 11th-12th century carved on a slab of black stone with a number of attendant figures is interpreted here as the Matsya Incarnation. The main figure has eight hands and five faces, four faces of different animals being attached to the frontal human head.

S. H. ASKARI.—*A Fifteenth Century Shuttari Sufi Saint of North Bihar.*

VISHWANATH PRASAD VARMA.—*Irrationalism—Philosophical* and *Sociological.*

D. S. TRIVEDA.—*The Pre-Mauryan History of Bihar.*

BANKEY BIHARI MISRA.—*Judicial Administration of the East India Company in Bengal, 1765-1782.*

RADHA KRISHNA CHAUDHARY.—*Kauṭilya's Conception of Law and Justice.*

Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,
vol. VIII, part 2 (February 1951)

JNANENDRALAL MAJUMDAR.—*Philosophy of Gauḍapāda (Alātaśāntiprakaraṇam).* The doctrine of absolute monism totally denying the existence of the world of multiplicity is said to have been propounded for the first time as the Ajātivāda of Vedānta in Gauḍapāda's *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā.* An attempt is made in the paper to show that Gauḍapāda had been influenced by Buddhist thought and adopted in his discussion the Mahāyāna terminology.

C. Sivarammurti.—*Rāvaṇa in the Kailāsa Temple at Ellora.* The temple at Ellora possesses a lively representation of Rāvaṇa lifting the Kailāsa mountain, and again kneeling before a Śiva-liṅga offering his heads to the deity.

Dasharatha Sharma.—*The Political Term Udāsīna.* In Kauṭilya's scheme of the circle of states, the *Udāsīna* was conceived to be 'stronger' than others, 'situated at a distance' from the Vijigīṣu and therefore generally 'neutral'.

R. C. Hazra.—*The Vidūṣaka in the Nāgānanda of Harṣavardhana.* Vidūṣaka's function as an helpmate to his patron in love affairs has been brought into a greater play in the drama *Nāgānanda*, where the quietistic hero Jīmūtavāhana is turned into a passionate lover mainly through the instrumentality of Vidūṣaka.

Nandakishore Mishra.—*Bhavabhūti—A Revaluation.* Bhavabhūti's superior poetic skill is brought out by a scrutiny of his poetry.

K. A. Subrahmanya Iyer.—*The Conception of Action among the Vaiyākaraṇns.* In the philosophy of Sanskrit grammar actions are *Vivartas* of Brahman.

R. M. Shastri.—*Identity of Kumbha in the Jvaratimirabhāskara.* Kumbha mentioned in the last stanza of the *Jvaratimirabhāskara* of Kāyastha Caṇḍa was the father of the author himself, and not the father of his patron Rājamalla.

Kailash Chandra Ojha.—*A Historical Problem connected with the Mālavikāgnimitram.* Agnimitra's kingdom as represented in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* did not stretch much beyond the territories near about Vidiśā, but the horse of the king's old father Puṣyamitra is said in the drama to have roamed as far as the right bank of the Sindhu. This can only be reconciled if the fact is taken into consideration that Sanskrit dramas have not always cared for historical syncronism. In the present case, the drama has put the earlier horse sacrifice of the powerful Puṣyamitra in the time of Agnimitra's rule of limited sovereignty.

Prabodh Chandra Sengupta.—*Date of the Bhārata War—A Rejoinder.* The writer sticks to the year 2449 B. C. as the date of the Bhārata war, and points out difficulties in accepting 1432 B.C. to be the date as proposed by others.

Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XIX, Part I

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN.—*The Identification of Two Interesting Sculptures from Orissa.* One piece of sculpture explained in the paper belongs to the 6th century A.C. and depicts the steps towards the birth of Kārtikeya as narrated in the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in the 9th canto of the *Kumārasambhava*. The representation in the relief includes the figures of Umā, Śiva and Agni—Umā lying on a cot, Śiva sitting nearby and Agni (in double figure) first waiting for an opportune moment and then receiving the germs.

The second sculpture, assigned to the 9th century, is a portrayal of the mother Jaratkāru sitting on *Padmāsana* and holding her son Āstīka on the lap.

MAHESWAR NEOG.—*Itinerary of an Early Sixteenth Century Pilgrim from Assam in Northern and Southern India.* Works relating to the life of Śaṅkaradeva, an exponent of the Bhakti cult in Assam, contain names of various holy places and rivers of northern and southern India which the saint is said to have visited on two different occasions of his pilgrimage. Names of the places are given in the paper in alphabetical order with notes.

K. VENKATESWARA SARMA.—*Prācīnapadyāvalī of Divākara, son of Mahādeva—1685 A. D.* The *Prācīnapadyāvalī* is an anthology of more than two thousand Sanskrit stanzas sorted and arranged according to the subjects. The work is still in manuscript.

B. CH. CHHABRA.—*Śrīparṇikā.* *Śrīparṇikā*, *Śrīparṅakā* and *Śrīparṇikagrāma* are names of places occurring in different early inscriptions. The places had acquired those names on account of their association with the plants of the Śrīparṇī species.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Śālivāhana and the Śaka Era.* The mention of king Śālivāhana in association with the Śaka era is found in an inscription of 1059 A.C. This is the earliest record so far discovered where the names of Śaka (era) and Śālivāhana (king) occur together.

S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.—*The Lakṣaṇamāla of Śivāditya.* Śivāditya's Lakṣaṇamāla edited here for the first time is a short Nyāya treatise defining and explaining the sixteen categories enumerated in the *Nyāyasūtra* of Gautama. The author flourished between 975 and 1025 A.C.

V. Sitaramiah.—*Sanskrit and Prakrit Prosody.*

Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda, vol. I no. 1

Hiralal R. Kapadia.—*The Rāmāyaṇa and the Jaina Writers.* Among the sixty-three celebrities (*śalākāpuruṣas*) of the Jainas Rāmacandra is looked upon as the 8th Baladeva, and Lakṣmaṇa as the 8th Vāsudeva who is said to have killed Rāvaṇa, the 8th Prativāsudeva. Various Jaina authors have narrated the story of Rāma in their works, but often in deviation from Vālmīki's account in important points. Sītā is sometimes presented by them as the daughter of Rāvaṇa, and not of Janaka. The earliest Jaina version of the Rāma episode is recorded in Vimalasūri's *Paümacariya*, a Prakrit epic believed to have been composed in the early Christian era. The *svarṇa-mṛga* incident is omitted in this work. Rāvaṇa is here disignated *Daśamukha*, because his face 'is reflected nine times in a wondrous string of pearls' hung around his neck. Hanumat and his associates are called *Vānaras*, because they belong to a race of the Vidyādharas who have adopted the figure of a monkey as their badge.

Nilmadhav Sen.—*A Comparative Study in some Linguistic Aspects of the different Recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa.* The discussion points out the linguistic characteristics of the various versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in regard to *sandhi*, hiatus, metrical lengthenings and shortenings, declension and conjugation.

Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya.—*The Sabdālaṃkāra Yamaka in the Rāmāyaṇa.*

Prahlad C. Divanji.—*Textual Criticism as a Branch of Indology.*

B. Subba Rao.—*Age of Kālidāsa.* This continued 'study of the social conditions' in the times of Kālidāsa is based on the poet's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and concerns itself in this issue of the journal with food, drink, dress, ornaments, and the arts of painting, music and dancing.

U. P. Shah and R. N. Mehta.—*A Few Early Sculptures from Gujarat.*

M. Govinda Pai.—*Year 1 of the Kaniṣka Era.* 136-137 A.C. is suggested as the initial year of the Kaniṣka era.

B. C. Deb.—*Aśvabalā.* This is a note on the medicinal plant *Aśvabalā.*

B. J. Sandesara.—*A Sanskrit Inscription of the Sultan Mahmūd III (1536-1554 A.D.) of Gujarat.* This is remarkable that the commemorative inscription of a rest-house built by the Muslim officers during the Muslim rule is in the Sanskrit language and in the Devanāgari script.

D. R. Mankad.—*Date of Harappa.* Accepting the identity of the Vedic Hariyūpiyā and the present Harappa, the place is taken as an Asura settlement flourishing in the days of Daśaratha, king of Ayodhyā.

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